DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 201 444 RC 012 672

AUTHOR	Colfer, A. Michael; Colfer, Carol J. Pierce
TITLE	Life and Learning in an American Town: Quilcene, Washington.
INSTITUTION	Abt Associates, Inc., Cambridge, Mass.
SPONS AGENCY	National Inst. of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	May 79
CONTRACT	400-78-0034
NOTE	311p.; For related documents see RC 012 669-671 and RC 012 673-675. This report was one of a series of site-specific case studies within the Longitudinal Study of Educational Change in Rural America.
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC13 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Administrator Attitudes; Age Grade Placement; *Age Groups; Athletics; Career Awareness; *Community Attitudes; Community Characteristics; *Educational Change; Educational Finance; *Educational Planning; Elementary Secondary Education; Federal Aid; Federal Programs; Government Employees; Government School Relationship; Lumber Industry; Program Implementation; Reading Improvement; Rural Population; *Rural Schools; Sex Role; Sex Stereotypes; Teacher Attitudes; Vocational Education
IDENTIFIERS	*Experimental Schools Program; Quilcene School District WA; *Washington

ABSTRACT

The federal Experimental Schools (ES) project was not successful in the rural school district of Quilcene, Washington. The ES project was not helped by the pervasive and powerful social split between "public employees" and "locals." Each group had its own world-views, values, symbols, and life styles, and the school provided an arena for their conflict. The schools also served to emphasize and solidify Quilcene's other major social dividers: age-grade and sex. However, school sports activities provided vital school-community coherence. The ES program caused Quilcene residents to feel the pressure of external evaluation and to resent the externally imposed requirements. Still, once the program was in its implementation year, enthusiasm was at a peak. Much-needed plant improvements were made and many new curriculum components (reading improvement, expanded vocational education, career awareness) were implemented. Thereafter, teacher morale remained high but general enthusiasm for the program faded. Administrative conflict continued, resulting in an administrative style change but not a structural change. The sociocultural messages delivered in the school were the same. The cosmetic changes did not really affect education in the district but perhaps less tangible results of the ES program did. (SB)

rec 11-05-81

ED201444

Life and Learning in an American Town: Quilcene, Washington

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

RC 012672

A. Michael Colfer
and
Carol J. Pierce Colfer

The information reported herein was prepared for the National Institute of Education's Division for the Dissemination and Improvement of Practice under contract no. 400-78-0034. This report was one of a series of site-specific case studies within the Longitudinal Study of Educational Change in Rural America under the direction of Dr. Robert E. Herriott of Abt Associates Inc.

LIFE AND LEARNING IN AN AMERICAN TOWN:

QUILCENE, WASHINGTON

A. Michael Colfer and Carol J. Pierce Colfer

May 1979

ABT ASSOCIATES INC.
55 WHEELER STREET, CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02138

PREFACE

As originally conceived, this volume would have reported the changes which occurred in the schools and communities of Quilcene and Brinnon, Washington, as a result of the infusion of a half million dollars in federal funds into their school districts. What it actually reports is the specific steps by which a small school district, caught in the conflicting web of federal wishes, state regulations, and citizen demands, absorbed and diffused a large federally funded effort at planned change. In the process, we include a discussion of Quilcene's "Experimental Schools" project as well as a section on the school as a cultural institution. This volume will be of interest not only to educational researchers, anthropologists, sociologists and policy makers, but it also contains a significant message for those working in planned change at home and abroad. Because we show *how* a community can absorb large amounts of money and effort while continuing largely unchanged, personnel and planners in international development will find insight into similar problems which bedevil assistance efforts in developing nations.

Our narrative is presented in five major sections. The first (Chapter 1) presents the background and history of the federal Experimental Schools program for small schools serving rural areas, and the research plan Abt Associates developed to study it. In any planned change effort, the overall strategy, or program plan, is of vital concern. Long term plans, developed by a bureaucratic agency will doubtless be modified in scope and emphasis by each change of administrative personnel within the agency. Accounting for such changes in the original plan is difficult indeed. Nontheless, at least an awareness of such shifts needs to be present in the construction of a plan.

Chapter 1 also presents an examination of the background of the authors of this case study. Since *all* inquiry is based on assumptions about the world and the particular domain of study, and since any analysis of data is interpretive, we trust that an understanding of our backgrounds will be of value to those assessing our conclusions.

Part I presents an ethnography of Quilcene, stressing sociocultural systems which have impact on school-community interaction and on the acceptance of, and resistance to, cultural innovation.

Part II discusses a school as a cultural institution, detailing its "hidden curriculum" and its operation within the often conflicting worlds of national trends and community traditions.

Part III contains our discussion of the Experimental Schools (ES) project in Quilcene. In the light of its community and school context, the ES project is presented in terms of its inception, implementation and absorption processes. We also discuss those educational changes which did occur, and the process by which the school district diffused and redirected the federal change effort.

In Part IV we present our analysis of the data and our conclusions and commentary.

Quilcene, Washington was one of ten rural districts selected by the Office of Education in 1972 to participate in its Experimental Schools program for small schools serving rural areas.* This volume, then, is one of a series of such studies written concurrently under the aegis of the Experimental Schools program by a group of researchers with a common focus and in active contact with one another. These studies represent one of the largest coordinated case-study research efforts ever undertaken, and they are supported by four extensive cross-site studies developed by the "Project Rural" research team (see Chapter One). Regardless of the benefits of Experimental Schools at the local school district level (and there is disagreement over that), the comparative data represented by these site-specific and cross-site studies offers a treasure trove for social scientists to mine for many years to come.

We should not proceed further without acknowledging the many people and organizations that have contributed to the successful completion of this volume. We appreciate the financial support of both the National Institute of Education (NIE) and its research contractor, Abt Associates Inc. (AAI). The other field researchers (see Chapter One)--Allan Burns, Charles (Tony) Clinton, Bill Donnelly, Bill Firestone,

---

*Actually Quilcene and Brinnon, Washington were selected; but since 1) generalizations and conclusions apply to both communities, and 2) Brinnon's participation in the ES project waned as the years went by, we usually refer to Quilcene in this study.

Larry Hennigh, Steve Langdon, Don Messerschmidt, Marilyn Richen, Charles Stannard, and C. Thompson (Tom) Wacaster--have provided moral support, intellectual stimulation, and a good deal of laughter over the years. Caught in webs of mutually conflicting expectations from NIE, AAI, our communities and our disciplines, we have all valued our contacts with others who shared our predicament. Although our relations with the Cambridge staff of AAI have not always been smooth, we have gained a great deal of knowledge and experience through our association with our eastern colleagues. We are particularly indebted to Steve Fitzsimmons, who coordinated the overall case study effort; to Bob Herriott, Director of Project Rural; to Mike Kane, who served in the unenviable (and occasionally untenable) position of site-Cambridge liaison; and to Andrea Kovacs, whose patience, competence and good cheer smoothed out many problems.

During the last few years all of the Project Rural case-study authors have had the benefit of a panel of consultants who have periodically reviewed and critiqued our work. We thank Ray Barnhardt, Homer Barnett, Howard Becker, Elizabeth Eddy, Eleanor Leacock, Lee Sproull, and Harry Wolcott for their constructive criticisms. Harry Wolcott has acted as a senior consultant throughout Project Rural, and has been a consistent and valuable champion of the ethnographic method in general and Project Rural's case study research in particular, and we are very grateful for his support.

More deserving of thanks than anyone else, however, are the people of Quilcene and Brinnon. It is uncomfortable to "be studied." The people of these communities expressed their discomfiture from the start; but many, many overcame that discomfort and accepted us as friends, neighbors and co-workers. Without their patience, trust and cooperation this volume could never have been completed.

We would like to single out the school people for special thanks. As can be seen throughout this volume, their behavior was more carefully scrutinized, more continually observed, and more scrupulously recorded than anyone else's. The tradition in educational research is to find fault (see Wolcott, 1971), so the general cooperation and openness with which we were met is most commendable. No one will deny (least of all the school personnel) that the Quilcene School in 1972-1973 was a gloomy place. Yet teachers told us in 1973 that "...if you think this is bad, you should have been here last year!" Therefore the reader should bear in mind when reading initial descriptions of the Quilcene School that by 1975 it was a far happier place.

All personal names which appear in this monograph are pseudonyms. Clearly in a district the size of Quilcene, it is nearly impossible to disguise all role incumbents. These pseudonyms are used rather to protect the privacy of individuals within the larger arenas where this case study will be read.

Honolulu, Hawaii
March, 1979

A. Michael Colfer
Carol J. Pierce Colfer

CONTENTS

Page

Preface. iii

Chapter 1: Introduction 1

The Experimental Schools Program 3

Constraints and Limitations. 6

Ethnographer as Research Instrument. 7

Participant Observation. 11

In Sum 13

PART I: AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF QUILCENE. 15

Chapter 2: Village Under the Olympics 17

Geography and Climate. 17

History of Quilcene and Brinnon. 20

The Contemporary Community 25

Chapter 3: Quilcene Divided 27

Public Employees vs. Locals. 27

The U.S. Forest Service. 30

Logging. 35

Lifestyles in Counterpoint 41

In Sum 51

Chapter 4: Public Arenas and Symbolic Acts. 53

Symbols and the School 53

School as Battleground 56

The School 57

Symbolic Acts and Open Meetings. 64

Page

Symbol and Public Dramatization. 68

In Sum 74

Chapter 5: Cohesive Divisions 75

Voluntary Associations 75

Decision-Making Processes. 85

Age-Grades 88

Kinship. 94

Chapter 6: Female and Male. 101

Janie. 102

Chet 105

In Sum 108

PART II: AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE SCHOOL 111

Chapter 7: A School Develops. 113

Early History of the Schools 113

Administrative Structure 116

Curriculum, Facilities, and Personnel. 118

The Students 120

Community Attitudes Towards the Schools. 122

Chapter 8: Concepts, Constructs, and World View 125

Enculturation. 125

Human Psychology 126

World View 128

Chapter 9: Adults in Control. 131

Power and Responsibility on the Local Level. 131

The School's Administrative Structure. 138

A Day in the Life of a Principal 142

Page

Certs and Noncerts 146

Male and Female. 150

Chapter 10: Kids in Classrooms. 155

Grades 155

Girls and Boys 158

Time, Work and Power: A Microcosm 160

Cooperation and Competition. 165

Chapter 11: Extracurricular Activities. 171

Kinds of Activities. 171

Sports 177

The "Hidden Curriculum" of Basketball. 183

PART III: EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOLS IN ACTION. 195

Chapter 12: The Year of the Plan. 197

Announcement of the ES Competition 197

Planning Begins. 202

Quilcene Deals With "The East" 209

The Dispute Over the Levy. 212

The Planning Year Draws to a Close 214

Chapter 13: The Year of Implementation. 219

Summer 1973: Preparations Continue. 219

The Project Gets Underway. 222

Political Maneuvering Intrudes 225

The Implementation Year Draws to a Close 231

Page

Chapter 14: The Year of Absorption. 235

The ES Project and Administrative Musical Chairs 235

A Teacher Strike Threatens 241

In Sum 242

PART IV: CONCLUSIONS AND COMMENTARY 243

Chapter 15: Experimental Schools in Summary 245

Plant and Classroom Changes. 245

Systemic Program Change. 246

Potential Changes in the Hidden Curriculum 249

In Sum 255

Chapter 16: Three Approaches to Change. 257

The Federal Perspective. 257

The Community Perspective. 260

The Anthropological Perspective. 264

Interaction of Perspectives. 267

Chapter 17: On Models and Muddles and Symbols that Fly. 271

Models of Social Organization in Quilcene. 271

Mechanisms of Cultural Incorporation 276

Committees of Crisis 281

In Sum 289

References 291

Appendix: Quilcene School Budgets: 1969-76 301

12

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

What happens when vast sums of money, intended to improve some aspect of community life, are distributed by a federal agency? Why are the results of well-meaning attempts so often negligible, or even counterproductive? What aspects of community life serve to de-fuse and diffuse the impacts of change efforts?

These are the kinds of questions that have motivated us in the writing of this volume. Answers to such questions have ramifications far beyond the specific change effort that is discussed here. Quilcene's "Experimental Schools project," its minor successes and its many problems, is--in our view--representative of change efforts in many spheres.* Improvement in our capacity to foster beneficial changes in people's behavior is a prerequisite for a globally sought improvement in the "quality of life." This volume is intended to contribute to an understanding of the process of planned change, with particular emphasis on those cultural and behavioral regularities that interfere with or preclude meaningful change. Our findings support the old (but widely ignored) notion that a holistic understanding of the status quo is a crucial first step in planning change.

In our view, change and "resistance to change" are not simple phenomena which can be explained by one or two or ten straightforward factors. On the contrary, we see change as resulting from a complex interaction of processes and entities. Change is facilitated or hindered by the cultural predispositions (e.g., expectations, assumptions, norms, goals, beliefs) of community members, of local change agents, and of personnel from external funding agencies. Interaction (or lack thereof) between these three sets of actors is another important determinant, as is the quality of that interaction.

This introductory chapter is designed to set the stage for the presentation of our research findings. We begin with an historical and contextual treatment of the federal agency ("ES/Washington") that funded both our research and the Experimental Schools (ES) project we studied. Although the influence of funding agencies is--more often than not--ignored in analyses of planned change efforts, our experience has been that such influence is considerable (see Foster 1972, for a similar point of view). In our view, the original goals of the national program; the assumptions and expectations of ES/Washington personnel; interaction between ES/Washington and local personnel; and external bureaucratic, political and financial pressures on ES/Washington and its parent agency all played an important role in the successes and failures of Quilcene's ES project. Since several key decisions made by the funding agency clearly affected outcomes and processes in Quilcene's local project, an understanding of the funding agency's origins and goals is important.

---

*See, for instance, Paul (1955) on health, Rogers (1973) on family planning, Rahim (1976) on rural development, or Herriott and Gross (1979) on education.

A second obtrusive factor in the progress of the Quilcene Experimental Schools project was the external documentation effort required by ES/Washington and of which this case study is one manifestation. Although some scientists assume that their research has minimal effect on the outcome of the processes under study, our repeated experience has been that this assumption is unwarranted. Antagonism on the part of some community members (for instance, toward student questionnaires administered as part of the overall research effort of which we were a part) undoubtedly influenced attitudes toward the school. Similarly, our own presence in the community inhibited administrators from actions they might otherwise have taken.

Since it is important to understand our roles in Quilcene, we outline the limitations and constraints imposed by the specifics of this particular research plan; and we present our personal experience, training, and likely sources of bias. The need for such self-disclosure in an ethnographic study derives from the significance of the "researcher as tool" and our belief that a knowledge of researcher idiosyncracies can improve the reader's capacity to evaluate the interpretations presented and the conclusions drawn. The final section of this introductory chapter offers a discussion of participant observation, the primary research method on which this study was based.

The Experimental Schools Program

The development of the Experimental Schools program can be seen as one manifestation of a growing nation-wide concern with cost-effectiveness. By the mid-1960s, nearly $170 million was being expended annually by the federal government for educational research (Corwin and Nagi 1972:352). While the dollar amount may seem large, it was actually less than one half of one percent of the federal funds expended on education in general. Vast sums then were being spent on educational endeavors with little apparent concern for their demonstrated effectiveness. Moreover, at this time there was a growing concern that both general educational change efforts and research about them had been too narrowly focused, thus failing to attend to the holistic context of education. Such concern can be seen as part of a general problem of too much federal direction in education from too many sources with insufficient coordination, resulting in a piece-meal approach to educational change.

In 1969 two proposals surfaced to assist in the solution of these problems. The first was the establishment of a new kind of educational research endeavor to be called the Experimental Schools program. This was to be a nation-wide, federally funded effort aimed at educational change on a district-wide basis, in which whole school systems would attempt comprehensive, sweeping transformations. These "experiments" would be carefully documented, so that other districts with similar characteristics might benefit from their successes and failures.

The second proposal was the establishment of an entire new agency for the express purpose of research and development in education. The National Institute of Education was to be on a par with the older Office of Education, and was to coordinate and direct all future federal funding in educational research and development. The two proposals were clearly related, and some perceived the Experimental Schools program to be precisely the kind of research and development initiative that the National Institute of Education was expected to conduct.

Over the next several years, the Experimental Schools program began to take form and substance (Herriott, 1979). The concept of comprehensive change with simultaneous documentation was an exciting one. Districts would compete to be selected for participation, and would be chosen on the basis of their readiness to change. Each district would be funded to assess its situation, write a plan for comprehensive change and then negotiate that plan with staff members of the Experimental Schools program in Washington for purposes of long-term funding. Each successful district was to have guaranteed funding for four years of project implementation. The plans were to be constructed in such a way that all new activities could be continued by the local district after the federal funding was over. This was to insure lasting change in the district, rather than poorly thought out, short-term projects. Each district was to have a federal project officer from ES/Washington who would monitor the local project and provide liaison between the school district and the federal sponsors. Each district was to agree to participate in a major documentation and research effort by an external social science organization serving as a contractor to ES/Washington.

Experimental Schools became operational at the end of 1970 with an anticipated budget of $190 million to be spent over an eight-year life span. Under tremendous pressure from a hostile and skeptical Congress to produce swift results, the director of ES initiated three urban projects very quickly, and these were under way in 1971. Unfortunately, very little time was available for careful start-up. In March of 1972, an official Announcement was sent to all districts in the U.S. serving student populations of fewer than 2500, kindergarten to 12th grade inclusive.* Experimental Schools administrators were aware that small, isolated school districts had neither personnel nor funds to support the writing of sophisticated, elaborate proposals. Therefore, to prohibit unfair advantage on the part of wealthier districts with sophisticated contacts, the Announcement required only the submission of a brief "Letter of Interest" to be returned in six weeks. Superintendents were requested to include in the Letter a statement detailing:

- the current educational program, including curriculum and the organization supporting it;
- the significant strengths and weaknesses of that program;
- local resources available to the district for developing an improved program; and

---

*The full text of this important document has been reproduced in Herriott and Gross (1979).

- a rough plan for program improvement utilizing the strengths and community resources, and accounting for the weaknesses listed.

(Experimental Schools, 1972:7)

The Letters of Interest were reviewed and rated through a complex, multi-stage process. A total of over 60 reviewers read and rated over 300 letters, seeking to choose those districts which seemed most ready to change. Of thirteen finalists, six were given one-year planning grants with a moral commitment to four more years of implementation support. Six others were given one-year planning grants, but additional support was contingent upon their performance during a planning year. Of seven thousand eligible rural districts, ten were ultimately chosen for full participation in the ES program. The planning grants were awarded in June of 1972.

Concurrently Abt Associates Inc. (AAI) was selected through a separate competition to document and evaluate the rural Experimental Schools projects. AAI immediately began assembling their research team, which was to consist of a number of quantitative researchers based at company headquarters in Cambridge, Mass. and a team of qualitative researchers (anthropologists and sociologists) living in the various communities receiving Experimental Schools grants.

In August of 1972, two months after the site selections were made, Experimental Schools was transferred from the Office of Education to the newly formed National Institute for Education (NIE). It was not a propitious move, for the new agency was in a very precarious position due to opposition from influential legislators (See Sproull et al., 1973). Moreover, NIE was designed to be primarily research oriented with program a subsidiary concern, and the Experimental Schools program was organized with a definite program bias--a program dollars to research dollars ratio of 3:1. It was an uneasy situation at best, due to get worse as Experimental Schools became a pawn in bureaucratic power struggles (Herriott, 1979). The resultant confusion of goals and purposes was soon felt in the little districts chosen as its participants.

Despite these drawbacks, many early Experimental Schools staffers were enthusiastic and committed (Corwin, 1977). They saw the projects as the first chance for rural districts to show what they could do. They hoped that these communities could rise above the nickel-dime strategies endemic in rural districts. They were willing to (and did) work long hours on their own to help the districts, even while fighting a delaying battle in Washington against adamant opposition in the NIE bureaucracy--an opposition which increasingly coveted the funds earmarked for the Experimental Schools program. But the internal political and budgetary oppositions that characterize successful bureaucracies (C. Colfer, 1975) were inadequately handled. The ES program was in trouble from the beginning.

Constraints and Limitations

Our participation in a complex research effort of this sort imposed certain constraints or strictures on the development of this case study. The most obvious was the necessity to focus on the district's ES project and the anticipated changes resulting from it. The National Institute of Education (NIE) added approximately $500,000 to Quilcene's normal school system budget of $1.5 million over a four-year period (1973-76)* and expected some meaningful changes to result from the expenditure. It has been clear from the beginning that ES/Washington's perception of the importance of the ES project in community and school differed from our own perceptions of these phenomena. Lee Sproull, in critiquing an earlier draft of this volume, nicely summarized a tension that has existed since we joined AAI's Project Rural:

> [ES/Washington] wants a good ethnographic study, which answers the questions: "How did local people work together to develop an ES project, what problems did they encounter, and what solutions did they employ?"....The [Colfers] would argue, I suspect, that a good ethnography would barely mention the ES project, because it simply is not very important in the life of Quilcene.
>
> (Sproull, 1976)

Sproull is correct in her suspicion; but we also recognized our responsibility to address ES/Washington's interests and concerns. This case study, then, is an attempt to bridge a conceptual chasm between the enduring patterns of an ethnographic study and the brief and superficial impacts of a planned change effort.

---

*See Appendix for details.

18

Our participation in a long-term team effort provided a second pervasive constraint. We had responsibilities to other team members and to their research. Thus, we had to be supportive of some aspects of the larger research effort (particularly its emphasis on student test scores and faculty questionnaires) which some community members saw as dehumanizing and dangerous. Access to some people or groups was difficult at best, and included a "you're either with us or you're against us" philosophy. Our necessary support of the more obtrusive research approach of the cross-site studies placed us squarely in an "against us" position. Thus some data sources which would have been helpful to our case-study effort became inaccessible.

We, and the other field researchers, were hired, in part, to document change within the school districts. Yet, in general, none of us arrived on site until the projects were six months under way. Thus all events prior to 1973 are reconstructions, based on informant interviews and literature analysis. Naturally we would have preferred to have arrived six months before the project got underway (to observe the planning process and to gather baseline data). We lived in the community from December 1972 until October 1975.

Ethnographer as Research Instrument

In any ethnographic endeavor, the fieldworker is the primary tool for data gathering. Nash and Wintrob (1972) make a good case for providing information about one's self (or selves) in ethnographic work, since the interests, problems, and concerns of the fieldworkers have important effects on the form and content of the final work. Given the pivotal importance of the fieldworker as tool, some knowledge of our interests and of our structural position in the community may be useful at this point.

When we entered the community Carol was 27. She had completed a BA, MA, and all course work towards a PhD in Anthropology. She was writing her dissertation on cultural confrontation in a U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs residential school. She came from an academic family and had spent most of her life in or around academia. Between the ages of 9 and 16 she lived in Turkey, where her father was working on a national literacy program. Thus at the time of our entry into Quilcene/Brinnon, Washington she had had considerable experience in cultural variation. Her professional interests included cognition and culture, enculturation, world views, values, folk epistemology and linguistics. Her geographical areas of specialization within the field of anthropology included the Middle East and East Asia. She had a growing interest in the position of women in the world; she was a feminist.

Michael, one of eleven children, grew up in rural Maine. He served four years in the U.S. Air Force and then attended several colleges before receiving his BA at Portland State College in Oregon shortly after Carol. He was 32 when he entered the community, had likewise completed his MA and his course work toward his PhD in Anthropology. His dissertation was on ethnic boundaries in a Russian community in central Oregon. His professional interests included kinship and social structure, ethnicity, cultural ecology and primate ethology. He has long had what can only be described as an obsession with sailboats.

We both completed our PhDs while involved in the research reported here. That we could do so with relative ease is one of the many advantages that accrued to us from job-sharing.* By the time we moved to Quilcene/Brinnon, we had evolved a system of formalized household task and child-care sharing. Thus, during this research we shared not only the salaried work, but the family maintainance work as well. This fact was to have impact in the community, as people who had grown up in a society with strong sex role dichotomies were exposed to sex role fluidity for the first time. Those most affected were our friends, though the degree of our personal impact is difficult to assess. Certainly Carol affected individual perceptions of "women's libbers" in the particular if not in the abstract. Although we both refrained from any sort of activism in this sphere, we answered honestly when queried about our views.

---

*And that AAI would participate in what was, then, a revolutionary approach to employment says a lot for that company's flexibility.

20

Other strong biases which should be noted include Michael's intense personal discomfort with structured authority. Along with other values emanating from his New England blue-collar background, however, this did provide a common ground with the beliefs of many "locals" in Quilcene.* Like many other families in Quilcene, we differed in our appreciation of rural life. Quilcene was not unlike Michael's own rural childhood; but Carol found it difficult to find time to work and concentrate in the intimacy of small town life. Eventually we both began to chafe under the strict sexual segregation and stereotyping.

Finally, we came to this research with the usual anthropological bias concerning the function of schools. We saw schools and schooling as an institutional structure, the prime function of which is not the imparting of curricular knowledge, but rather as an instrument of the enculturation process in our culture (See the writings in Wax, Diamond and Gearing, 1971, for instance). Thus the picture we present in this book is of schooling as containing hidden as well as explicit curricula, as a subsystem of the lifeway extant in Quilcene/Brinnon.

Initially we rented a house in Brinnon, intending to reside in Brinnon and maintain an office in Quilcene. We made significant efforts to attend as many community functions as possible and to join as many clubs or other organizations as we could. At that time (August 1972) we had recently abandoned a research effort in Iran due to hepatitis, and were both still semi-invalid. By the summer of 1973, having been unsuccessful in our search for a suitable home in Brinnon, we bought a house in Quilcene and moved there.

In informal discussions, anthropologists frequently note the great value of children as data gathering assistants in an ethnographic setting. Children tend to legitimize strangers, giving them credence in situations where they are unknowns. Certainly, our daughter Megan legitimized our presence at many community gatherings. She was Carol's entree into the most active women's groups in Quilcene and served to identify us at many family-type gatherings. Megan attended preschool, kindergarten and started first grade in the Quilcene school. For her, Quilcene is still, three years later, home.

---

*A major community division in Quilcene (discussed in Part I and elsewhere) is between "Locals" and "Public Employees." Locals typically earn their living within the private sphere, are embedded in kin networks, and espouse a particularistic "frontier" ethic. Public Employees, on the other hand, work in bureaucracies, are geographically and socially mobile, and express "middle class" universalistic values. (See Colfer with Colfer 1978 for further analysis of this distinction.)

Various friends and relatives stayed with us for periods short and long, another Quilcene tradition. We hired outsiders to work with us three times. Michael's youngest brother assisted with school plant measurement in 1973; three University of Washington graduate students excerpted test records from the Quilcene School files; and a Persian graduate student and friend gathered data for us in the community during a two-week stay in 1975. Our considerable foreign travel experience and our twice yearly professional trips to such distant places as Cambridge, New Orleans, or San Francisco served to further separate us from our neighbors. One year Carol neglected to mow our lawn and the waist-high grass finally elicited a work party to do it for us, as well as a lot of comment.

We were, in short, participants in community life in Quilcene, observing both our neighbors' behavior and our own indoctrination into community lifeways. We were neighbors, taxpayers, boat owners, friends and not-so-friends, as well as "outside evaluators". We were participant observers. We were always, in all waking hours, anthropologists, with an anthropologist's concerns for continued access to diverse sources of data within the community.

In order to maintain access to the various segments of the communities, we had to monitor our own behavior carefully. Our education and white-collar job encouraged others to classify us as "Public Employees". Our autonomy in work and our nonjudgmental attitudes fit better with those of the Locals. We adjusted our dress and our language to conform to the situations in which we found ourselves. People found it easier to see us as Public Employees, so we had to exert more effort to retain access to Locals. Our daughter's age granted Carol access to Local mothers of like-age children; Michael was able to get to know many Local men through the Lions Club and the tavern.

Initially, we had anticipated dividing the cultural world in the following manner: Michael would study the political system, the economic structure and kinship. Carol would concentrate on enculturation (including the school), world views, religion. This was consistent with our training and professional interests. However, the realities of the fieldwork situation have a strong influence on the ethnographic work one can conduct. First, we found that the worlds of men and women were far more separate and distinct than we had anticipated. For instance, Carol's attempts to elicit linguistic data on logging from loggers also elicited strong jealous reactions from wives. We also found that women's organizations, to which Carol had easy access, engaged in much local-level political activity. Women were the caretakers of kinship. Michael was forced into the school by the shortage of men's groups and by community expectations that he, as a man, "work" in some recognizable sphere. Thus our emergent case study was of bilateral formation: we brought to it certain theoretical and personal biases, and the community imposed upon it certain de facto guidelines for our research directions.

Participant Observation

We obtained the data on which this case study is based largely by participant observation. This anthropological method requires living in a community, participating in its lifeway, documenting one's own learning process in much the way a child learns, documenting events around you as well as the process whereby such events begin to take on meaning. It requires approaching social behavior with a particular frame of mind. A nonjudgmental attitude about social happenings, curiosity about social phenomena, openness and objectivity, awareness of cultural diversity and its forms, and high tolerance for ambiguity in social relations are all crucial elements. Jacobs (1970:ix) describes participant observation in the following way:

> We allow phenomena to be our masters and to determine our means of assessing them. As regards the social world, we observe it first by the most direct means possible--ourselves--and then parsimoniously develop extensions (methods) to the degree that our existential involvement needs supplementing.

Lee (1970:7) says of the participant observer:

> He must be able to see, to listen, to feel sensitively the social interactions of which he becomes a part. He must be able to grow with his experiences. He must question time and again whether he has perceived enough and whether his understandings are as accurate as he can make them. He must be able to understand his own impact upon the social situation he studies and what influences other participants and the situation have upon him. He must learn to expect a personal sense of culture shock, a confusing and possibly painful experience, as a symptom that he is bringing new perceptions of situations into focus and that he is becoming able to assimilate these perceptions into his modifying understandings.

Margaret Mead (1972:293) succinctly sums up this dimension of participant observation:

> ....most people prefer to carry out the kinds of experiments that allow the scientist to feel that he is in full control of the situation rather than surrendering himself to the situation, as one must in studying human beings as they actually live.

Our approach to participant observation included the following elements:

1. Intensive participation: From our first days in Quilcene we readily participated in any activities or events where we were welcome (plus a few, like school board meetings, where we weren't). We joined clubs, contributed labor to community projects, served as chaperones, took classes, and attended countless meetings. Because of the nature of community organization, we found it necessary from time to time to accept roles which were more active than we would have chosen. Michael, for instance, served as secretary-treasurer of the Lions Club for one year (reputedly the second worst officer ever); Carol was vice-president of the Preschool Coop one year. We conscientiously (and gratefully) refused to serve as incumbents in any policy making role.

2. Observation of interaction patterns and events: Because of the broad charter under which we were working (observation of community, school and ES project), and because of the long period of fieldwork (three years), we were able to observe a relatively great range of events a number of times. Over time we were able to identify significant differences in patterns

of interaction among several sets of actors. Generally, our observations have been aimed at placing what goes on in school in its larger community context, so as to better understand the nature of schooling in Quilcene and possible changes deriving from federal intervention.

3. Informal Interviews: Once the initial phase of fieldwork had passed, informal interviewing was particularly valuable. Such interviews, or directed conversations, occurred regularly with people from all sectors of the community and school whenever conversation was possible. We listened to the concerns of students, staff, and residents; we asked questions when pertinent and politic. Such interviews served three purposes: to indicate to us areas of interest to community members and school people; to keep us informed of community and school events; and to allow us to steer conversations into areas relevant or important to our analyses.

4. Formal interviews: These were used sparsely due to the discomfort they caused for most community residents. Formal interviews were far more feasible among Public Employees and among men than among Locals or women. However, we conducted them wherever possible and when they served our purposes.

5. Records analysis: Working with literate people, we had a host of written materials to draw on. These included:

- various duplicated materials from the school, such as daily announcements, the school paper, parents' newsletter, school board records, ES project reports, etc.;
- personal correspondence with ex-residents; and
- the weekly regional newspaper and assorted newsletters from those organizations which reached beyond the village.

In Sum

In this chapter we have provided contextual information on the genesis and perspectives of the federally sponsored Experimental Schools program; on the structure of, and constraints imposed by, the overall research effort; and on the roles, backgrounds, and perspectives of the authors. We now turn from such stage-setting matters to our presentation of findings. The remainder of this volume is an ethnographic study of a community and its school, examining the manner in which the school system absorbed and diffused a large federal effort at comprehensive educational change.

PART I

AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF QUILCENE

The fact that schools exist within the context of communities has a wide range of impacts on the educational process. The existence of school boards composed of community members and their legal right to manage and direct their schools represent the most formal and institutionalized linkage between community and school.* But there are more fundamental and pervasive linkages.

School personnel and community residents expect the school to prepare students for the "world of work" in particular; community occupations present the most available example of that world. Preparing students for adult life in general involves the inculcation of moral precepts, norms of human interaction, and life expectations, quite aside from what is covered in the formal curriculum. But the values, norms, and expectations that the students bring to the school from their homes and their communities affect what the school can stress and how well it can succeed in its attempts.

The way life is structured in Quilcene has important effects on the way students anticipate and plan (or do not plan) for their own lives. The significant social structural divisions and the value conflicts that characterize Quilcene come to school daily in the bodies of students and school personnel. Part One examines community social structure and values as crucial elements with important effects on the school and the ES project.

Our presentation of the community consists of five chapters. Chapter 2 ("Village Under the Olympics") presents the first as a brief history of Quilcene and Brinnon. Chapter 3 ("Quilcene Divided") describes Quilcene's most pervasive social structural split: Public Employees vs. Locals.** Members of these two categories display markedly different life-styles, including values, employment and consumption patterns, leisure

---

*And Quilcene's annual special levy adds teeth to the notion of community control of the school.

**Gouldner (1957) differentiates between "cosmopolitans" and "locals" within the context of a bureaucracy. Although there are some similarities between Gouldner's use of the term "locals" and our own, the two uses are by no means identical.

The previous numbered page in the original document was blank.

activities, and so on. Since male employment in the public or private sector is the most common indicator of category membership, we describe two kinds of work settings--the U.S. Forest Service and logging. We then discuss the kinds of conflicts that occur between Public Employees and Locals and some of the characteristics of this important community division.

In Chapter 4 ("Public Arenas and Symbolic Acts"), we discuss the most important settings for public statements or indications of commitment to one structural category or another. The tavern, the school, and informal gatherings carry symbolic meanings of relevance to the Public Employee/Local split and to the differences between men and women. Insofar as the Public Employee/Local split is basically a men's social structural phenomenon deriving primarily from male employment, Chapter 5 ("Cohesive Divisions") considers primarily women's social structural divisions. Participation in voluntary associations, age-grades, and kinship networks is available to both men and women; but women are most active in joining clubs, and maintaining age-grade and kin ties. We conclude Part I with Chapter 6 ("Female and Male") which examines the kinds of variations that distinguish the lives of men from the lives of women.

CHAPTER 2: VILLAGE UNDER THE OLYMPICS

With a sense of what prompted this study of Quilcene[*] and of how that study was conducted, we can now present the community itself. In this chapter we first present the major geographical climatic attributes of the area. The largest portion of Chapter Two is a condensed history of Quilcene and Brinnon; and we conclude with some general information about the community in the 1970s.

Geography and Climate

Quilcene is located on Puget Sound, which is a huge system of interconnected bays and channels leading south from the Strait of Juan de Fuca some 75 miles (see Figure 1). Hood Canal, one of the few true fjords in the lower 48 states, opens northward from Admiralty Inlet on the inner end of the Strait and runs south southwest some 44 miles before hooking northeast for 11 miles. Averaging two to three miles in width and 200 to 400 feet in depth--with some spots of 600 feet--it forms the eastern shore of the Olympic Peninsula (U.S. Coast Pilot #7, 1968). The western shore of the Peninsula rises abruptly from the rocky Pacific beaches to the Olympic Mountains, and these western slopes are coated with dense rain forest. Rainfall reaches 130 inches where the Pacific Ocean moisture is milked from the in-coming clouds, but decreases to 40 to 60 inches per year on the Hood Canal side. Such rain and its runoff fosters the growth of the magnificent stands of Douglas fir, cedar and hemlock which drew early loggers to the Peninsula in the mid 19th century.

At the northern end of Hood Canal, a large bay opens up to the northwest. This bay, Dabob, divides at its northern end to form two bays, one of which is Quilcene Bay (See Figure 2). Dabob remains quite deep and is used extensively by the U. S. Navy for testing nuclear submarines and torpedoes, while Quilcene Bay is quite shallow, exposing

---

[*] Again, Quilcene is much more central in this study and in the Experimental Schools project itself than is Brinnon, though relevant information about Brinnon (particularly when Brinnon differs from Quilcene) will be supplied throughout the text.

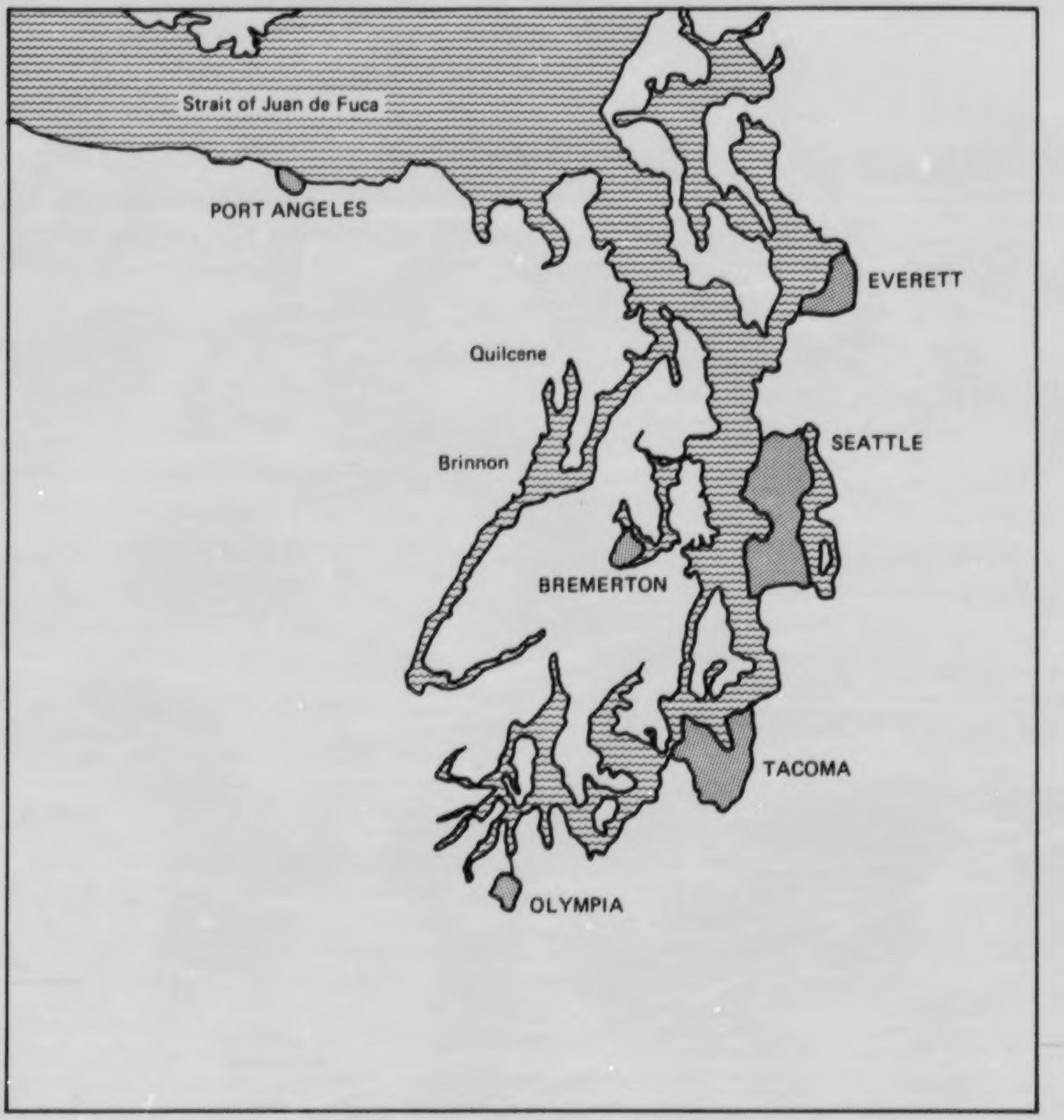

Strait of Juan de Fuca
PORT ANGELES
EVERETT
Quilcene
Brinnon
SEATTLE
BREMERTON
TACOMA
OLYMPIA

Figure 1

Map of Puget Sound and The Olympic Peninsula

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

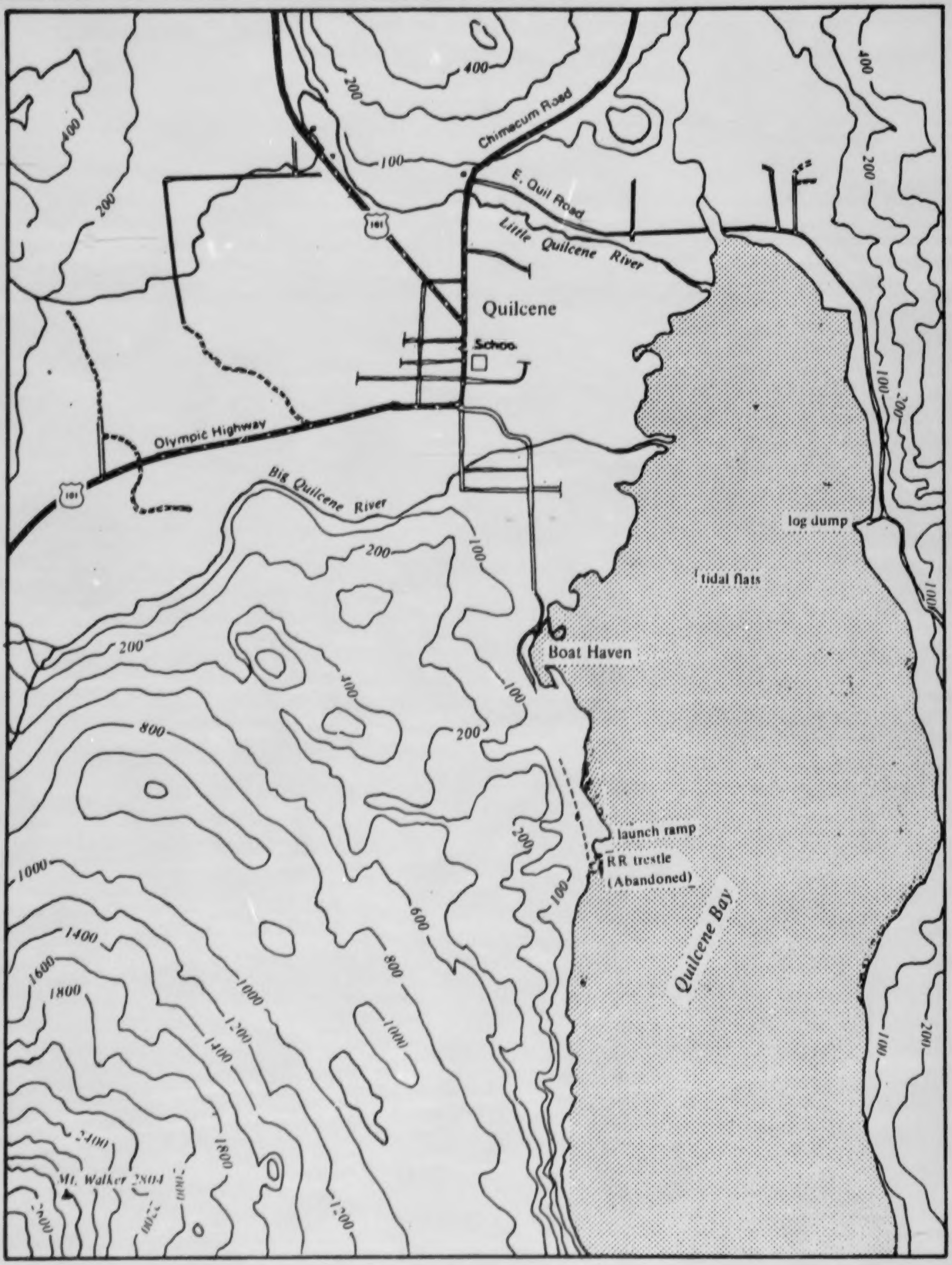

400
200
Chimacum Road
100
E. Quil Road
Little Quilcene River
101
Quilcene
School
Olympic Highway
Big Quilcene River
log dump
tidal flats
Boat Haven
launch ramp
RR trestle
(Abandoned)
Quilcene Bay
800
600
1000
1200
1400
1600
1800
2000
2200
2400
Mt. Walker 2804

Figure 2. Map of Quilcene, Washington: 1972.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

its northern extremity at low tide. Two streams, the Big Quilcene River and the Little Quilcene River, form estuaries at the head of Quilcene Bay. South of Dabob Bay, two larger rivers--the Dosewallips and the Duckabush--form estuaries and shallow banks which extend into the otherwise deep waters of Hood Canal. For the most part, the waterway from the Strait of Juan de Fuca to Quilcene Bay is quite free of navigational hazards. Early sailing vessels were quite safe in the big fjord, if frequently beleaguered with flukey winds and swift tidal currents. These same currents, however, allowed log rafts to be maneuvered for miles by judicious use of anchors on foul tides. The availability of easy transport for huge logs on these waterways, plus relatively easy supply routes for early sloops and schooners in the mercantile trade, made the Olympic Peninsula a natural spot for settlement and for logging.

Weather on the Peninsula is predominantly wet and cool, with an occasional summer heat wave in the 80s or low 90s. The mountains are snow covered half the year, but the lowlands seldom receive any appreciable amount of snow. Winter lows rarely are below 25°. Typically the annual average daily temperature is about 48°, and 45° to 55° is usual. The rainfall is light and constant for half the year. River valleys and flood plains consist of lush, rich farmland, but constitute a small percentage of the Peninsula. The land is rich in game and berries. There are several salmon runs per year, and large populations of bottom fish, shrimp, crab, clams and oysters.

History of Quilcene and Brinnon

An Act of Congress formed the Oregon Territory in 1848, encompassing what is now Oregon, Washington, Idaho and parts of Montana and Wyoming. In 1852, Jefferson County, Washington was formed, and a county seat established in Port Townsend, a small community on the northeast tip of the Olympic Peninsula. By this time, a few settlers were moving in along Hood Canal. The small Indian population, decimated by smallpox and measles, was able to offer no resistance at all.

The immense stands of timber and the waterways to work them drew lumbermen immediately after the establishment of the Territory of Washington in 1853. In 1855, the Washington Mill Company established a working camp in what is now Quilcene (Port Townsend Leader, January 2, 1890). In 1860 Hampden Cottle, a logger from Maine, began digging out root crooks for ship knees in the Quilcene area. He was soon followed by his nephew, two Vermonters and a Swede. Quilcene was under way.* They came to log and to farm part time, a pattern that was to endure in Quilcene (Taylor, 1966a:163).

By 1880 there were 53 people in Quilcene, and the community was growing rapidly. Mail came and went by water until a horseback route was established to Port Townsend in 1882. There were, however, no roads at that time, and most intercommunity travel was by boat. Fourteen miles to the south, on the other side of Mount Walker, the community of Brinnon was also growing, though more slowly.

The Oregon Improvement Company, assuming that Port Townsend would become the major seaport on Puget Sound, began building a railroad south from that town. The intent was to build the line to Quilcene, run steamers down Hood Canal to Union where rail connections would be made to the transcontinental railroad terminating in Portland, Oregon. For a few short years, Quilcene was a boom town, as speculators and settlers and railroad workers swarmed in. A newspaper, the Quilcene Queen, was founded in 1891. In addition to the newspaper, 16 other businesses were in operation in the village, including three general stores, two hotels, three carpenter/boat builders, two contractors, a blacksmith, the ubiquitous saloon . . . even a restaurant contractor! In 1891 the Queen (Vol. 1, no. 2) boasted of a population of 500, and described the smokey air--a result of extensive burning in the course of clearing farmland. In this period a "turnpike" was opened between Quilcene and Port Townsend, land was going at $100 per acre, while 50' x 100' lots in the vicinity of the railroad terminal were $75 to $100. A dance in Quilcene drew 40 couples!

---

*See Colfer and Colfer, 1975, for a more detailed history of the area.

Brinnon was more isolated. Initially, freight was rowed in or out to schooners anchored off shore in the fjord, and travel was by boat or along the beach to Quilcene, and then by boat across the Canal to Seabeck. A road from Quilcene to Brinnon was first requested in 1870. The county agreed to have it built in 1871, and Brinnon residents built a bridge across the Dosewallips River in anticipation. The road was surveyed in 1881 and again in 1891. It was finally completed in 1896, 26 years after the first request.

Throughout this period, logging remained the mainstay of both Quilcene and Brinnon. Logs were first felled near streams to be floated out at high tide. As nearby areas were cleared, skid roads were constructed from the logging areas to the rivers. These were simply a series of logs laid like railroad ties, over which larger logs were dragged by oxen or mules. A grease boy usually ran before each log, dabbing tallow onto the skids. This system was brought west by Maine loggers, and was ubiquitous in the Pacific Northwest. It sometimes took a heavy, multiple team of oxen or mules to pull one log, so great they were.

In 1891, the Oregon Improvement Company, finally concluding that Seattle, not Port Townsend, was to be the major port, ceased work on the Quilcene-Port Townsend railroad. Port Townsend businessmen, firmly believing that the connection would be made anyway, completed the last two miles of track, but the road was never more than a logging road, as the connection at Union was never made.

In the same year, however, miners brought gold, silver, and copper ore down from Mount Townsend. During this era logging, farming, and the population boom brought on by the draft dodgers from the Civil War carried the area economically, and Quilcene remained prosperous.

In 1901 Silas Marple of Brinnon established what was to be an important claim in the Iron Mountain area. He persuaded several wealthy men of its value, and they founded the Tubal Caine Copper and Manganese Mining Corporation (Taylor, 1972:3). Most of the initial mining equipment was carried by mule over rocky passes and up winding creek bottoms. A mine was built with brute strength, the extreme ingenuity of a Brinnon engineer named Hjelwick, and a lot of outside money. Yet it never paid off.

Jefferson County waited breathlessly for the riches to flow, but they only flowed into the mine, not out. By 1915 the Company was essentially defunct.

In 1902 a group of prominent men in Leland, just north of Quilcene, founded the Inter-Farmer Telephone Company, Inc. Their franchise covered the eastern end of the county south of Port Townsend; and they connected with Citizens Independent Telephone of Port Townsend for long distance, and for access to Western Union and the Postal Telegraph Companies. A tradition of small independent telephone companies remained strong in the Northwest until the mid 1960s when a medium sized company began to buy up the smaller units.

After World War I a small Japanese community was established in Leland, with most of the men working as loggers or on the P.T. Southern Railway. By 1920 the community center of Quilcene had moved to the small plateau between the two rivers, removed from the frequent flooding of the Big Quil River plain.

There was very little visible change in Quilcene during the next 50 years. The road through town was improved and slightly rerouted in 1936 by CCC workers from a local camp. Social life continued to center around traditional activities. Dances and socials were major fund raising activities as well as the major community entertainment, a tradition which endures to this day.

In 1930 a silent but very important immigrant came from Japan. G. T. Morgan brought Japanese oyster seed to Quilcene to see if they would propagate in the shallow waters of the Bay (Steel, 1964). This marked the beginning of a new industry, a new source of food and a great tourist attraction. The oyster seeds were planted in 1930 and left for a few years. In 1932 there were spat (baby oysters, collectively) on the shore rocks of the Bay. In 1934 and 1935 large spats populated the Bay permanently. These oysters were hardier and more prolific than the indigenous oyster, as well as much more flavorful. In 1938, an association of 12 oyster farming companies from around the state set up seed operations in Quilcene Bay in hopes of reducing the amount of oyster seed imported from Japan, but the operation was destroyed by a severe southerly storm which wrecked the floats, and the operation was abandoned. By this time, however, R. Canterbury had established an oyster farm at the foot of Linger Longer near the railroad trestle. While some years have been lean, oyster harvests have generally been good since the mid '40s. In the '60s and '70s several oyster seed operations were successfully operating in Quilcene and Dabob Bays, and public beaches now swarm with tourists when holidays coincide with low tides.

The Depression brought a minor population boom to Quilcene and Brinnon alike, as young people from the cities moved to the area. The rich natural environment offered at least survival, and the children from such families swelled the local school enrollments. During those years, community mothers gathered in groups to can donated fruits and vegetables for the school lunch program. This phenomenon of women being very active in community affairs was a heritage of pioneer days and was to continue.

World War II brought a 1500-man contingent to Quilcene as part of the Western Defense System, and also a disaster for the Japanese community at Leland. Despite protests to the federal government by their Anglo neighbors, the Japanese were all removed to relocation camps. Most, greatly embittered, did not return after the war.

In 1950 Buck Mountain Logging Company came to Quilcene and became the major community employer for a decade. This was a "wild and woolly" period for Quilcene, especially in the logging camps and wherever else the young, rowdy loggers gathered. In the words of one resident: "Quilcene was never quite the same after Buck Mountain came to town."

Between the two wars, a major shift in employment and in community balance occurred. The U.S. Forest Service office in Quilcene was established and became a large employer; a U.S. fish hatchery was built on the Big Quilcene River; and a Washington State Shellfish Laboratory was founded at the mouth of Quilcene Bay. These public employers, together with the growth in number of school personnel (see Chapter 7), created a dichotomy in community life styles which was new to the village, and was to become an important aspect of life in contemporary Quilcene (see Chapters 3 and 4).

The Contemporary Community

Quilcene and Brinnon are both tiny communities, neither of which has ever incorporated. The 1970 U.S. census reported 1,998 residents for the total area served by the high school district (which includes Quilcene, Brinnon, a number of other hamlets, and genuine country folk). With no formal boundaries there are few sources of reliable demographic or community statistics. Residents estimate 500-600 inhabitants in Quilcene, and 200-300 in Brinnon. The seasonal nature of much of the available work further complicates the problem of estimating the population.

In 1974, approximately one third of the Quilcene work force was in logging, one third in local businesses, and one third in some sort of public (federal, state, or local) employ. The distribution in Brinnon was slightly more in favor of local businesses. Both communities have seen a steady increase in the number of retired people moving in to live permanently, and in each there is a significant number of people disabled by logging accidents. In recent years there has been an influx of urban young people disillusioned with city life and the pace of "modern living," and seeking a return to a simpler, more "natural" lifestyle.

This rural lifestyle is maintained partially by the inaccessibility of urban centers. Though only 37 air miles West of Seattle, a trip from Quilcene to Seattle takes approximately two hours and costs around $10, one way, in bridge and ferry tolls.* There is no public transportation, save a weekly "Happy Bus" for senior citizens, from Quilcene to Port Townsend (the county seat, 25 miles north).

The communities of Quilcene and Brinnon are comparatively under served in a variety of ways. In 1972, for instance, there were no medical personnel, clinics, pharmacies, banks, local newspapers, community water supply, sewage,or garbage disposal systems, or town government. By 1976, a bank and a clinic had been opened, and the garbage dump had been moved and modernized. But the area is still underdeveloped compared to most American communities.

---

*In February 1979, the Hood Canal Bridge, which has been Quilcene's only practical link to urban areas, was washed away by 100 m.p.h. winds, leaving the entire northern Olympic Peninsula without any very direct route to Seattle.

Those people who choose to remain in the area enjoy the relatively slow pace of life, the lack of traffic, smog and crime. They tend to value privacy and the remoteness of their community. Traditional values derived from pioneer days still hold sway. Hard work, thrift, helping others who need it, individuality, all seem to hold important value for Quilcene and Brinnon residents. The Peninsula is characterized by breathtaking beauty, from its high alpine meadows to its lush, salt water bays. For those who prefer to reside in, rather than simply visit, a semi-wilderness area, Quilcene and Brinnon are ideal; but this area is not for those who feel the need for theatre, stage, shopping centers and central heating.

37

CHAPTER 3: QUILCENE DIVIDED

Quilcene is essentially a town divided. The basic sociocultural division presented in this chapter affects social interaction in all spheres of life. After a brief discussion of Quilcene residents' *views* of this social cleavage, we present descriptions of the two occupational settings that most typically *symbolize* this cleavage: the U.S. Forest Service and logging. A concluding section on "Lifestyles in Counterpoint" provides an analysis of the most important points of conflict and disagreement between the two categories of people.

Public Employees vs. Locals*

Many anthropologists have noted that the physical layout of a community frequently reflects fundamental features of social organization (cf. Levi-Strauss, 1967; Coon, 1958; Pierce, 1971). In many American communities, such social structural features are indicated by ethnic neighborhoods, "below the tracks" neighborhoods, or in some cases, plush neighborhoods actually walled off in Middle Eastern fashion from the rest of the city.

In Quilcene, U.S. Highway 101 forms a "U" as it passes through Quilcene. The bottom of the "U" is the main street of the village. The school and the post office face each other across the center bottom of the "U" and are flanked by small businesses. Enclosed within the "U" are several more small businesses, a number of private homes, and a cluster of U.S. Forest Service (USFS) buildings. Some of these USFS buildings are administrative, some are houses the USFS keeps for its personnel, and some are equipment and maintenance sheds. This section of Quilcene, enclosed within the "U" of 101, is known as the "Forest Service area" by residents (see Figure 3).

Quilcene is divided by residents into five conceptual units: "East Quil," "the triangle," "the Forest Service area," "Linger Longer," and "101." Of these, only the Forest Service area corresponds to a recognized social category of people. The area occupied by the Forest Service constitutes a wedge thrust into the heart of Quilcene, terminating at the school. This

---

*In common Quilcene parlance, this division is often discussed as (and symbolized by) conflicts between the Forest Service and the loggers.

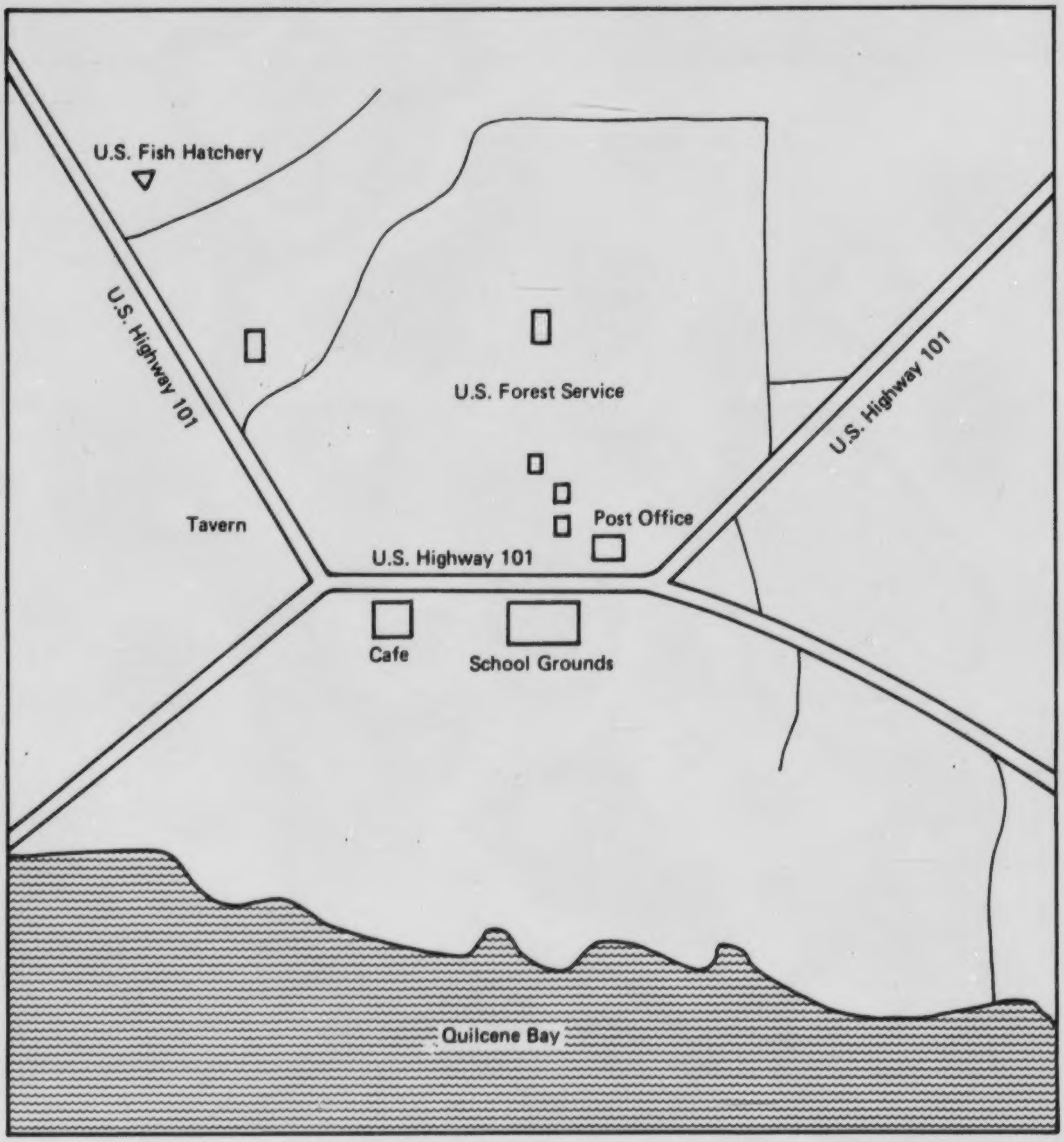

U.S. Fish Hatchery
U.S. Highway 101
U.S. Forest Service
U.S. Highway 101
Tavern
Post Office
U.S. Highway 101
Cafe
School Grounds
Quilcene Bay

Figure 3

Detailed Map of Quilcene Village (not to scale)

wedge is a symbolic representation of the major dichotomy--Local-Public Employee--which permeates all social life in Quilcene. Moreover, the fact that the Forest Service people are assigned an area, in the absence of any clearly defined area attributed to loggers or other Locals, underlines the outsider position of the USFS in the village.

> I sat rather stiffly in the Local living room. We had not been in Quilcene long and were still gathering basic data on the community. The old-timer had just been talking about the local history.
>
> "Just how many people are there in Quilcene, anyway?" I asked.
>
> "Well, really, you know, I guess you'd have to include all those Forest Service people, and the Shellfish lab people. Hell, you'd have to include the school people, too, all them. I guess _you'd_ call 'em Quilcenites. Must be quite a few." (Field Notes, 1973)

Locals perceive the community as basically a logging town, composed of a network of families and long-term residents, onto which is grafted a transient population of Public Employees. Locals see the two categories of people as distinct, discretely bounded populations, with separate ways of living and behaving.

Public Employees, on the other hand, see Quilcene's social system somewhat differently:

> I sat in the office of a high-level Public Employee, gathering basic data on the community. "People have said that some resentment is felt about Public Employees," I said. "They say that the Public Employees live on government land and do not pay taxes in the community at all. They say that there is a real division in the community. How do you see this?"
>
> "We have tried very hard to be part of the community here and I believe we have succeeded. Of course there are people who get mad at us--we are a big government organization. But basically we fit into the communities in which we live. No, I would say there is no basic division in the community. There is diversity but not division." (Field Notes, 1973)

Public Employees interpret intra-community differences to be based on social class, and see all residents as participating in one mainstream, American system. In this view, the main differences among people are based on how successfully they cope with that one, monolithic system. Most Locals, then, are seen as failures in _the_ American lifestyle, rather than as participants in a separate but equivalent lifestyle. Our analysis more closely resembles the Local interpretation of intra-community diversity (see also

Colfer with Colfer, 1978). Social class, as defined by a variety of indicators like wealth, education, or length of residence, is simply not a very powerful analytical device for dealing with everyday life in Quilcene.

Occupation, however, is of primary significance as an identity marker in Quilcene; indeed, occupational affiliation serves much the same function as tribal identity serves in some other parts of the world. Introductions in Quilcene invariably include information about the family breadwinner's occupation: "Oh, are you with the Forest Service?" or "My husband's a logger." Such information communicates a great deal about the likelihood and nature of further interaction.

In order to show how central a part occupation plays in this dichotomy between Locals and Public Employees, the bulk of this chapter is a discussion of the characteristics of the two kinds of employment in Quilcene. The two work settings described, the Forest Service and logging, are important representatives of the broader categories. Understanding the differences between the two modes of employment is an essential prelude to an understanding of the recurring conflicts that characterize the major social structural cleavage in Quilcene.

The U.S. Forest Service

The Quilcene Ranger District is headed by the District Ranger. He is responsible for 235,000 acres of forest land in the Olympic National Forest. The chain of command (whose members are known as "line officers") includes the Chief of the Forest Service in Washington, D.C.; the Regional Forester in Portland, Oregon; the Forest Supervisor in Olympia, Washington; and the District Ranger. The District Ranger has five "line assistants" who are directly responsible to him (see Figure 4); each, in turn, has supervisory responsibilities over others beneath him in the hierarchy.

The Resource Assistant is responsible for such things as recreation and trails. For example, any person who wishes to camp more than 14 days in the national forest must obtain a permit from him. The Resource Assistant's staff of one or two Forestry Aides is increased by two or three in the summer to cope with the increased number of tourists and campers. As one Forest Service employee put it, "People create problems. The more people you get, the more problems you have."

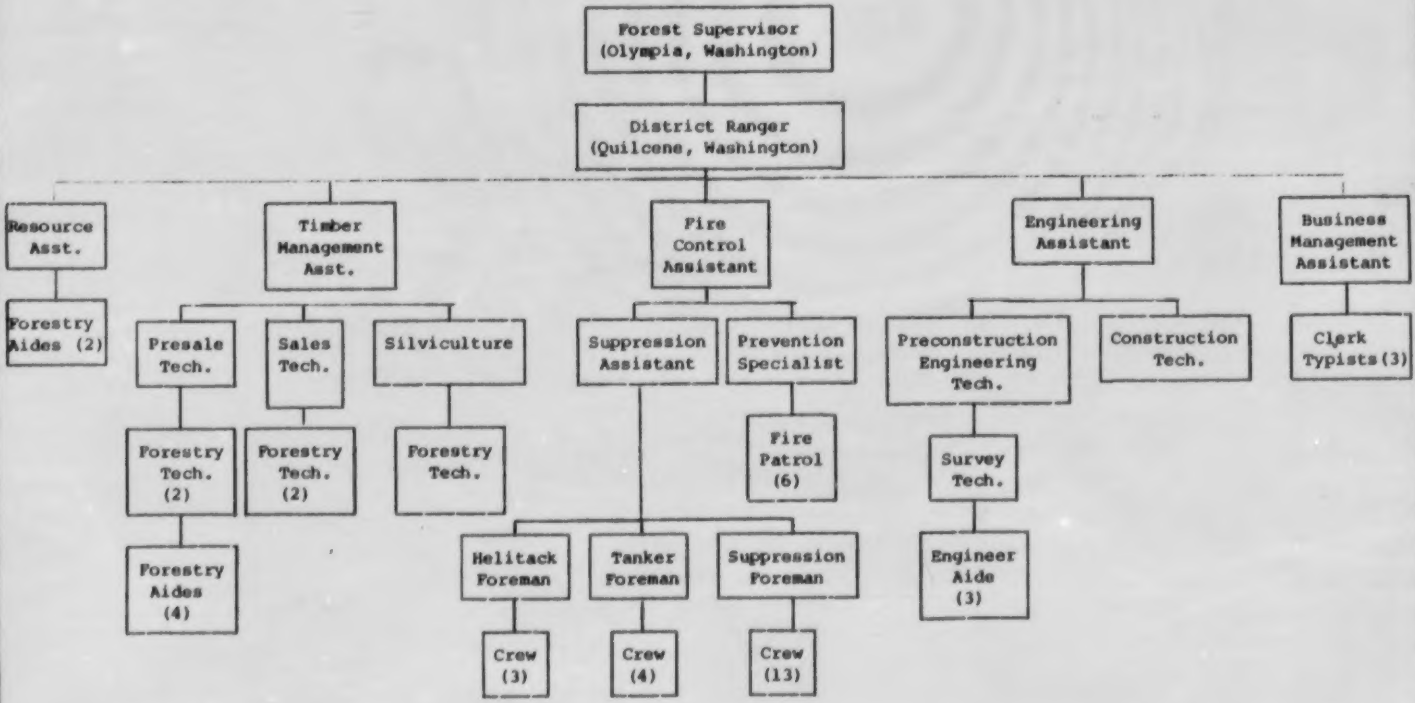


Figure 4: Administrative Structure, U.S. Forest Service
Quilcene Ranger District, 1975

Forest Supervisor (Olympia, Washington)
District Ranger (Quilcene, Washington)
Resource Asst.
Forestry Aides (2)
Timber Management Asst.
Presale Tech.
Forestry Tech. (2)
Forestry Aides (4)
Sales Tech.
Forestry Tech. (2)
Silviculture
Forestry Tech.
Fire Control Assistant
Suppression Assistant
Helitack Foreman
Crew (3)
Tanker Foreman
Crew (4)
Suppression Foreman
Crew (13)
Prevention Specialist
Fire Patrol (6)
Engineering Assistant
Preconstruction Engineering Tech.
Survey Tech.
Engineer Aide (3)
Construction Tech.
Business Management Assistant
Clerk Typists(3)

The Timber Management Assistant is responsible for seeing that the trees are put up for sale, sold, cut, and hauled out, and that new trees are planted. This organization has three subdivisions: Silviculture, Presale, and Sales Administration. Silviculture is the art of growing and caring for trees. The Silviculturist is also responsible for producing Environmental Analysis Reports, which are sometimes later expanded into Environmental Impact Statements.* Presale involves finding timber, deciding how it should be cut, and appraising its value. Sales Administration, the third of the Timber Management subdivisions, monitors the loggers' adherence to their contracts with the Forest Service. It is a focus of conflict between the Forest Service and the local logging population. Forest Service employees say that most conflicts arise from loggers' ignorance of the terms of their contracts. But another important factor derives from the Forest Service practice of planning blocks to be logged that are too large for bids by small operators. In order to bid on a Forest Service contract, a bidder must produce a bond of one-quarter the amount minimally acceptable to the Forest Service. A recent sale required a down payment of $270,000 (Field Notes, 1975), and such sums simply are not available to small-scale logging operations.

As a result, most bids received by the Forest Service are from large, urban-based lumber companies, many of which no longer maintain logging crews. The local loggers then subcontract with these large companies to log the local Forest Service lands. The lumber companies supply the capital to make the bid, hire the local loggers to do the work, and retain a profit. Such a mode of operation is efficient, in that it allows the Forest Service to make one large contract, rather than many small ones; but it is certainly "pro-big business." The man in charge of Sales Administration and his two assistants deal with the loggers and "catch all the flak" directed against the Forest Service and its policies.

The third line assistant is the Fire Control Assistant. He has the most fluctuating number of subordinates, and his responsibilities include fire prevention and suppression and fuels management.

Forest Service personnel estimate that 90% of the forest fires in the Quilcene area are man-caused. Many Locals accuse the Forest Service

---

*A "quick" Environmental Impact Statement took two and a half years to complete, and produced a manuscript of book length.

43

personnel of starting fires on purpose in order to earn the overtime and hazardous duty pay they receive while fighting fires. Indeed, one Forest Service employee estimated that 40% of the man-caused fires were started by Forest Service personnel. This figure, however, includes the brush fires that "get away" while the Forest Service is burning brush, a procedure necessary in order to plant new trees.*

The Engineering Assistant, another line assistant, is in charge of caring for the Forest Service buildings (including Forest Service homes), the fleet of trucks and cars, and off-highway engineering. There are two subdivisions in his sphere: construction and preconstruction. Preconstruction begins when the Timber Management personnel request a road to be built in a certain spot to gain access to timber. Preconstruction and Timber Management personnel decide whether or not it is possible to build such a road and how to do it. After these decisions are made, Preconstruction staff do the planning; Construction staff work with the loggers who actually build the roads. This is another area of Forest Service-logger interaction that is likely to produce conflict.

The Business Management Assistant is the fifth individual directly below the Quilcene District Ranger. His duties include financial management of the District, supervision of clerical work, ordering, purchasing, and personnel management. He supervises three clerk typists (the only full-time, permanently employed women in the Forest Service District).

As can be seen from this description of the organization and work structure of the Quilcene Ranger District, there is a clearcut division of labor and a definite chain of command. The line assistants see their jobs as basically involving implementation: "The Ranger gives directions, the assistants implement them." A considerable amount of cooperation is necessary among the five subdivisions to ensure continuity and coordination of District activities. For instance, the Silviculturist must not plant in an area until the Fire Control people have burned off the brush.

Besides coordinating the activities of their various subdivisions, the line assistants must do extensive paperwork. They must generate reports, copies of permissions, budget plans, and so on; in addition, directives and new procedures and information from higher up in the chain of command descend on the line assistants in great quantities. It is ironic that these men, who by and large joined the Forest Service to have the opportunity to work outdoors, must spend ever-increasing amounts of time indoors as they progress up the ladder of bureaucratic success.

---

*A fire fighter of long standing, however, knew personally of only three employees who were caught (and fired for) setting fires purposely; each had set several fires before being caught.

However, when a fire breaks out Forest Service personnel are expected to rally. Only incapacitating illness is sufficient excuse not to help fight a fire. Indeed, many Forest Service employees relish fire fighting. Forest Service employees have mentioned the great sense of cohesion, of esprit de corps, that develops among members of the fire fighting units as they must depend on each other and, in turn, are responsible for each other's safety.*

Permanent Forest Service employees enjoy the usual benefits of Public Employment. They receive a steady, year-round income which allows them to plan their consumption patterns more accurately than can the Local population. Their vacation time accrues at a steady rate, as does sick leave, and they look forward to adequate retirement income. Their employment is set and other aspects of their life can be planned, scheduled, and organized around that certainty.

As can be seen, working for the Forest Service requires complex planning and coordination among the employees. There is a clear-cut division of labor, and a definite chain of command. Staff cooperation in accomplishing externally determined goals is relied upon. From the perspective of any given employee, directives come from the next bureaucratic level up, and are to be implemented downwards. The District Ranger is described by some as a "king"; but he only appears so to some of those below him. Such is the nature of bureaucratic organization.

Forest Service work certainly has drawbacks. As a public institution, it is held accountable to the citizenry. However, citizens have conflicting needs, bureaucratic response to citizen input is slow, and the forest requires management. Such factors yield double-bind situations for Forest Service management. For example, bureaucracies are maligned for being inefficient; yet the Forest Service's attempt to be efficient by making a few large contracts rather than many small ones also serves to encourage big business at the expense of the small operator. In late 1974, the Forest Service put up a large tract of timber for bid by helicopter-logging in response to environmental concerns (e.g., that the logging roads would erode part of the mountain and endanger an important watershed). The result was anger and further alienation of the Local logging community, as their opportunities to log in their home district were further curtailed (helicopter-logging companies maintain their own crews).

---

*The Forest Service work situation while fighting fires bears some striking similarities to the logging setting.

The bureaucracy, mired in the morass of opposing pressures and interest groups, simply muddles along as best it can. Meanwhile, it has responsibility for the control of resources. In the Olympic District, the United States Forest Service controls over a quarter-million acres of forest. Decisions about that forest land must be made on a daily basis, and this involves the use of power and authority which in many instances is in opposition to the concept of the bureaucracy as a service organization. In the Forest Service case, the people most directly affected by these decisions are the loggers.

While specifics of task and organizational responsibility vary, the bureaucratic structure of other Public Employee work settings remains similar. Ultimately, all Public Employee settings are based on the bureaucratic mode, incorporating hierarchic principles of authority while emphasizing cooperative input from all (professional) levels in a decision-making process. Public Employees work in a stable environment, with regular income and social benefits, with the same individuals forming stable work groups. Specialization is by education and training, and the "organic solidarity" of the bureaucratic structure is reinforced by family-like ("mechanical solidarity") aspects involving Public Employee families as a whole (to be discussed below).

Logging

The other major type of employment in Quilcene, as exemplified by logging, differs in many important respects from the bureaucratic setting just described. A bureaucracy is most succinctly described and understood in terms of its structure. A description of logging as an occupation must begin with the logging process, with the work itself, because of the fluidity and variability of its social relations.

Before a logging operation can begin, an individual or a company must get a contract to log a tract of land. Private lands, state lands, and federal lands are all sources for local logging; but about 95% of the timber logged in the Quilcene area is controlled by the Washington State Department of Natural Resources or the U.S. Forest Service. These organizations determine how the land is to be logged, how many board feet it will yield, and what precautions need to be taken to log the area in an "ecologically sound manner with minimal cost." Loggers and companies then make bids for contracts.

As noted earlier, large companies typically bid on the large tracts. Loggers do perceive some advantages to this system. The big companies handle the ever-increasing amoung of paperwork required by the state and federal governments. On a big job, a logger who has some heavy equipment can leave it at one place for fairly long periods of time; in contrast, "no logs are going to the water" while a logger moves his equipment from one small job to another.

Once a bid has been won or a logger subcontracts to log an area, a logging crew must be assembled. Men who own equipment usually have two or three others whom they regularly work with. Depending on the size of the sale and the time limit for getting the job done (as set by the government agency), more men may be needed. Here a logger relies heavily on his personal network. He can phone people who he knows want work, or he can drop by the Quil Cafe in the early morning hours. The cafe is the gathering place for men who need work and other men who need workers.

> Early morning mist coated the outside surfaces of the cafe and drifted between the trees across the street. I was the second customer in the cafe. The first was a tall, gaunt young stranger who drifted from porch to inside counter during the morning, clearly looking for work. Soon a battered pickup pulled up outside, followed by a Kenworth tractor with its log trailer perched on its back. Loggers began filling the cafe, drinking coffee, ordering breakfast. The room filled with men in chambray shirts and red suspenders, caulked boots left outside according to the front door sign prohibiting them. The two tables between the door and the counter filled first, then the counter seats themselves filled. Later, other people began arriving--the school janitor, a businessman. The sound of dice rolling for coffee or breakfast alternated with the clink of tableware as a background to the voices. Smoke lay in blue and gray layers in the warm air. The gaunt young stranger left with three loggers in a crew cab, evidently having found work.
>
> I sat talking with Roger until he allowed it was time to do something, even if it was wrong. We climbed into the beat-up old tractor he drove and set out to find the truck owner who had not

> shown up at the cafe. Roger had not been told where he was to drive, nor what his color code was to be (a mark put on logs to identify the seller when logs are in the water). After much driving about and talking we finally set off for Johnny Come Lately Creek, some five miles from the Blyn log dump on Sequim Bay.
>
> I watched Roger and the loader operator work together for a while. We were on a logging road beside a large pile of logs. The loader was a decrepit crane well beyond its prime. To lift a log, a large sister hook on the end of the cable was hooked around the log one-third of the way from the log end closest to the loader. Then the cable was taken up until the log end touched the crane. Finally, the cable drew the log into the air, balanced against the crane like a huge baseball bat, swung it over the truck and dropped it onto the bed. One of them then made a yellow mark on the end of the log and branded it with a hammer branding iron. Neither suggested I do anything to help, but after watching the operation I decided to give it a try.
>
> The most convenient place for a load tender to be is standing on top of the tractor cab. That way, when the log is swung into place to drop onto the bed, it can be branded on the way past by the man on the cab and color coded as well. I climbed to the cab top with some misgivings and watched the loader lift the next log. It came into the air and began to swing toward me like an enormous bludgeon bent on my particular destruction. The branding hammer in my hand was suddenly greasy and I was looking for a place to jump. At thirty feet long by three feet thick that log looked very big. It was only by concerted effort of will that I remained on the cab and branded the log on its way by. It was also necessary to go out on the load and release the sister hook from the log if it got jammed.
>
> The chill mountain air was clean, the wind sighed in the stately Douglas fir over our heads, the roar of the loader was nearly drowned in the sponge-like silence of the forest.
>
> Down the twisting Forest Service road from Johnny Come Lately Creek we roared, the tons of logs behind our heads bobbing and twisting in an apparent demonic attempt to decapitate us. Hairpin turns and long straight stretches were all encased in fir and fern, and the ever-present run-off trickled here and there across the road.
>
> At the dump I watched the scaler measure the logs. The drivers were condescending to him, yet enjoyed each other's camaraderie. There was a difference in these men. They lived an occupation that demanded one hundred percent of sensory attention at all times if they were to survive. The resultant Olympic Mountain high, it appears, easily becomes addictive. (Field Notes, 1973)

The number of people working on logging jobs ranges from one (though this is illegal) to 20; and any job can include the whole range. The main occupational categories within the general term "logger" include: log truck driver, cutter, choker-setter, chaser, and equipment operator.

A log truck driver drives to the landing, has his truck loaded (or does it himself, on a small job), brands the logs, and drives the logs to the log dump. The skill required to maneuver these huge rigs, which have from 14 to 20 gears, on narrow, winding roads is well-respected in Quilcene, and many loggers aspire to owning a log truck.

A cutter (also called a bucker or faller) cuts down trees with a chainsaw. Like the trucker, a cutter spends considerable time alone or nearly alone. This job sometimes includes climbing up a tree and cutting off its top; one wife remarked that "when he's going to spend the day topping trees, I don't want to know about it till it's over." Bucking trees is extremely strenuous work, and the state prohibits a logger from working more than four hours a day at this task.

After the tree has been cut down, a choker-setter attaches a cable (choker) around the log. The log is then dragged away, either by a tree farmer (a rubber-tired, articulating tractor) or by a yarder, consisting of a tower from which cables hang. The other ends of the cables are attached to stumps out in the woods. Once the choker-setter has placed a choker around the log, he attaches it to the cable. The cable then pulls the log out, above the ground, toward the tower (see Kesey, 1964:169-81). Compared to the tree farmer, which simply drags logs along the ground to the landing, a yarder is less destructive of the environment, but is more complex and expensive, and few loggers own one.

At the landing is another group of men. In a large operation, there are several chasers, who unhook the chokers from the logs, help sort the logs by species and size, and cut off extra branches. There is usually a loader, a machine which picks the logs up and puts them on the logging trucks. (Yarders, tree farmers, and loaders all require operators.) After his truck has been loaded, the trucker takes the logs to the dump, where the scaler (sometimes called a "cheater") measures each log.

When a job is completed, the landowner (in Quilcene, usually a government agency) checks to make certain that all aspects of the original contract have been fulfilled. In the case of a U.S. Forest Service contract, the logger has paid a $500 security bond which he forfeits if he does not fulfill the contract to the satisfaction of the Forest Service. The U.S. Forest Service carefully monitors its contracts with loggers, and the State Department of Labor and Industry monitors logger activities for compliance with safety regulations.

The disadvantages of logging are clearcut and easy to list: danger, insecurity, and hard physical labor. According to Newsweek (1974), Pacific Coast lumbermen are rated as the worst risk by Metropolitan Life Insurance Company for "death by violent accident." Logging jobs are typically of short duration, ceasing in the winter and sometimes in the summer as well; sick leave, vacation, and medical and retirement benefits are only beginning to be available, in the last few years. When there is work, most loggers work from dawn until dusk and sometimes beyond.

The advantages are harder to enunciate; they derive from the symbolic value attached to being a logger and from the nature of the work setting. Being a logger carries a potent bundle of cultural symbols: manhood, sexuality, strength, courage, independence, and competence. To many, these values are sufficiently precious to compensate for the financial insecurity and other disadvantages of logging.

> We sat in her living room talking about the school, local life, and logging. At one point she got up and went into the other room, bringing back with her a blown-up photograph of her husband in hard hat and overalls standing beside the log that he had just cut down--it filled the log truck. "You can talk about the romance of various occupations all you want," she said, "but it's going to be pretty hard to beat that." She looked up, smiled proudly, and added, "Now there's a man!" (Field Notes, 1973)

Logging as the manly occupation is frequently contrasted to the "paper-shuffling" of bureaucrats and to women's work. A log truck driver refers to his Peterbilt tractor as "my peter." A woman complains about her logger husband's infidelity, but sums it up by musing thoughtfully, "But, you know, even though I have to put up with a lot of shit, I know he's a real man. I wouldn't want to trade that." There is a clear symbolic relationship between large logs, large machines of great power, large men, and sexuality.*

The notions of independence and competence, like strength and courage, are more directly attributable to the structure of work out in the woods. Loggers regularly indicate their preference for the independence a man can have outside a bureaucracy. Chains of command and hierarchies of authority are objectionable to loggers; they value the informality of their work groups. The equipment owner tends to do whatever job he has chosen for himself, and trusts the others to do their jobs. Although the yarder operator on a landing has some responsibility for directing log traffic, he is not "in charge" or granted any special authority except as dictated by the desire to avoid being hit by a log. Loggers express a real distaste, generally, for bossiness, and an equipment owner who consistently displayed bossy behavior would probably have difficulty getting crews together. Likewise, men who hire inexperienced help express discomfort at having to tell the new man what to do and how to do it--"You just sort of expect people to know those things, without having to be told."

---

*This is typical in American symbolic systems. The standard American automobile/sex link that pervades TV is another manifestation. So is the bumper sticker: "Old loggers never die; they just get a new Peterbilt."

Besides the straightforward value loggers place on independence in an abstract sense, a certain amout of independence derives from the instability of the work. The employer can guarantee virtually nothing in terms of job security, so the employee loses little by losing a particular logging job.

Loggers allow each other a considerable amount of latitude with regard to "absenteeism" as well. If a logger doesn't feel like working, he can simply not appear at work. The man whose equipment is being used then simply gets a replacement for the day, at the cafe or by phone. No hard feelings result (unless the worker continually fails to show up), and the worker is welcome to return to work in a day or two.

> "Oh, did you see my car?" She turned cheerfully from the apples she was slicing for a pie. "Frank [an employee] backed our log truck into it last Friday. Stove in the whole grille. He got out of the Kenworth, took one look at my car and got in his car and left. Didn't come back for three days and he's still scared to say hello to me." (Field Notes, 1974)

Competence relates to the loggers' possession of certain clearly practical skills. The more competently they do their job, the more trees get to the water, and the more money they make. Formal certification is irrelevant; what counts is one's ability and willingness to do the job. Within a logging crew, prestige derives from skill and dealing with danger. Loggers specialize, and many demonstrate considerable finesse at felling trees, operating heavy equipment, or driving log trucks; but the overall competence displayed by an ability to fill in on any job is also admired and valued (particularly given the easy-going approach to absenteeism).

There is an aura about logging of interdependence and camaraderie which partly derives from the fact that all members of a logging crew are dependent in a very real sense on the skill and care of their co-workers. Death and injury are common enough to remind every logger of his responsibility to his fellows and his dependence on them.

In sum, then, loggers tend to work in small, loosely knit work groups characterized by interdependence, informality, and equality. The size and composition of work groups change frequently, subject to a variety of forces including the international lumber market, the weather, and interpersonal relations; and individual loggers have considerable freedom with regard to kind, place, and amount of work--whenever work is available.

Lifestyles in Counterpoint

Some of the sources of friction between the U.S. Forest Service and loggers have already been described. But these conflicts are not isolated phenomena; Public Employees' jobs, in most cases, include duties that impinge on the freedom of Locals to pursue their own interests unhindered. The Forest Service enforces the many rules and regulations that surround logging on national forests. Comparably, the Shellfish Lab has certain responsibilities for the supervision of clam digging, oyster farming, and shrimping. The school, characterized by the Public Employee outlook on life, looks after Local children most of the year and seeks to form their outlook on life in a more universalistic vein.

In each case, however, the bureaucracies also provide services and information that are valuable to Locals. Public agencies have an ideology of service to the people. Service is the "reason for being." The Forest Service, for instance, seeks to "plan for the greatest use of the forests by the greatest number of people," and the school "provides an education for every child in Quilcene."

The contradiction noted earlier in this chapter between the role of bureaucracies as "servants of the people" and as "resource controllers" holds true for the various kinds of Public Employment. Although everyone recognizes both functions of public agencies, individuals are likely to stress the bureaucratic role that casts them in the best light. Public Employees emphasize that their role is one of public servant, of caretaker of resources. Locals say that Public Employees are supposed to be public servants, but are actually interfering controllers.

Public Employees, used to a chain of command, tend to perceive social interaction in hierarchical terms. To them, Quilcene is a small, rural terminus for the dissemination of information and the implementation of policy emanating from the high central authority in the state capital (Olympia) or Washington, D.C. Because they participate in the public sector, Public Employees are one step (or more) closer to the center of decision-making and control than are the Local people. This gives Public Employees confidence in their generally superordinate position.

In contrast, Locals see Public Employees as itinerant interlopers who seem to forget that their salaries come out of "your and my tax dollar." The center of significant decision-making and control as perceived by Locals is not with some distant bureaucratic elite, but rather in Locals' ability to foresee economic changes and forces affecting their livelihoods, as well as in their relationships with coworkers and potential employers. Although the rules, regulations, and policies of bureaucracies are of vital interest and concern to Public Employees, such controls simply represent persistent, but non-central, irritants to Locals.

Time, Work and Power. The conflicts which exist between the two categories of people have wider repercussions than the control of resources, as such. The attitudes and structures of the work environment are at least concurrent with, if not generative of, other fundamental differences. All of American life seems to express certain fundamental philosophical oppositions. We will discuss two of the most common oppositions throughout this volume. These are the dichotomous concepts: authoritarian/egalitarian behavior, and cooperation/competition. These concepts appear repeatedly in American ritual and folklore, and are expressed constantly in our literature. They are also fundamental principles, operating in (or out of) balance in our work settings, marriages, contracts, games, etc. Different contexts require different stress, first on one, then on the other element of each pair. In Quilcene, as in other parts of America, the elements in each pair are in constant negotiation. Yet in a very real sense, each of the categories of people discussed here seems to opt more often for one of the poles than for the other. We will return to this below. A third, but more amorphous, opposition arises in the conceptual relation of time and work. In Quilcene, this relation has overtones of sexual labor division as well.

The value of hard work is an endemic American value. Everyone in Quilcene seems to subscribe to it, and to be considered a hard worker is a high compliment. In this, both Public Employees and Locals concur. It is in the definition of what constitutes hard work that disagreement arises. In fact, despite the universality of the value, Public Employees and Locals consistently accuse one another (categorically) of laziness, of sloth, or of immoral approaches to work. Public Employees regularly point out that Locals collect unemployment compensation in the winter, citing this as obvious evidence of laziness and immorality. They consider it lazy, since the Locals are able bodied and could find a job in another town or in some other occupation. Public Employees consider such actions immoral because they consider unemployment compensation to be a form of welfare, and further, they consider welfare to be immoral for able-bodied folk. Locals see unemployment compensation as money they have contributed to the State fund, and to which they are entitled. They worked hard to put the money there in the first place. Locals malign Public Employees for their obsession with paperwork, and for sitting at a desk day after day "accomplishing nothing." From the Local perspective, hard work is a physical thing, a stretching of the physical man to his limits to produce some material gain. Clearly, then, the nature of hard work is a matter for discussion. Time, its conceptualization and its use, is also critical to the definition of work.

The importance of time to Americans has often been noted. We are reputedly obsessed with the notion: we aren't to waste time, we are to be on time, "time is money." But the Local and Public Employee approaches to time are also different, and relate to their different concepts of work.

Public Employees use time predominantly as a device to structure their work, much as children in school have their lives structured by the schedule on the wall. The relationship between time and money is basically an arbitrary one; one is paid for time, and work involves fitting required activities to the structure of the clock.

Locals' use of time, however, is more likely to be determined by specific economic goals. Where the Forest Service employee hurries to meet a deadline set by someone higher up, the logger hurries to get more logs into the water to earn more money. The Shellfish Lab biologist works long hours to get his research work under control while completing the myriad reports demanded by the bureaucracy; the oyster seed companies work to get shells suspended under floats in the Bay in time for the spat process. The results of inefficient time use in bureaucratic settings are guilt and/or harassment from superiors. The result of inefficient time use in Local work settings is usually loss of income. Public Employees, then, measure hard work by the amount of time spent on a task, whereas Locals are more likely to measure hard work by the amount of money earned (perhaps in a given time), or the physical effort expended to earn it.

An interesting sidelight that perhaps accounts for some of the fervor that characterizes cross-category disapproval is the similarity between the traditional work of women and that of Public Employees. The value on speedy accomplishment of specific economic goals which meshes so well with Local male work efforts does not mesh well with the activities of women. Speedy and efficient accomplishment of specific goals is not easy when children are underfoot. Those activities that usually occupy women in Quilcene homes do not have much value in the marketplace. The most economically productive things that unemployed women in Quilcene do are excellent examples of cheap labor--canning, gardening, foraging, fishing, sewing. If a woman is to value her own efforts, it makes sense for her to accept the Public Employee notions of hard work as measured by time spent. The similarities between female and bureaucratic concepts of hard work produce scorn from Locals, enmeshed as they are in a cultural setting that is characterized by extreme sex-role stereotyping and sexual segregation on a day-to-day basis.

Additionally, kinship, which is considered the domain of women in Quilcene, shares many of the functions of a bureaucracy. Although an ideology of the independence of nuclear families is widely held, the relationships among related women function to tie Local households together. The isolation of the community, the seasonal nature of most Local employment, the brittleness of marriage, and a variety of factors encourage mutual aid and interdependence among households. And help is most often offered and and requested within the context of "women-centered kin networks" (following Yanagisako, 1976).

Public Employee women, without daily access to their female kin, cannot provide the kind of inter-family support that is provided by the relationships among Local women. Public Employees are dependent on support functions of their bureaucracies much as Local families depend on the kin-based support provided by women's relationships. But another parallel between the lives of women and the lives of bureaucrats is evident, and encourages negative stereotyping.

Public Employees work within an ideology of authoritarianism, with their lines of command, hierarchical structures, and the like; and yet male interactions appear extremely egalitarian. Requests are made rather than orders given, in most cases. Among loggers, with their strong ideological emphasis on egalitarianism and their distaste for authoritarian social settings like bureaucracies, commands are far more frequent. The logging environment requires someone to direct things from time to time, and when the occasion arises, someone does just that. The "please's," "thank you's," and "do you mind's" of Public Employees are not acceptable in Local interaction:

> We three stood at the end of the bar picking up beer for a party. The young logger was hosting at his home, and we were getting supplies at the tavern and the store. The three of us were laughing and enjoying ourselves. The Public Employee (not, incidentally, a Forest Service employee) tried for the third time to pay for part of the beer. Again the logger refused.
> "Shit, man, I'll pay for my part."
> "Nah, I don't want your dirty ol' money."
> "Take it. Please."
> The word was like a red flag. "Don't give me that Forest Service shit!" (Field Notes, 1974)

Social Control Systems. Another major difference between Public Employees and Locals is to be found in the sphere of social control. At one level, social control is a legal phenomenon, drawing on official police and court systems for its adjudication. Often at this level, Public Employees are more likely to resort to the rules and regulations of established authority than are Locals.

> In 1973, a teenager threatened a Public Employee with physical violence. The Public Employee promptly called the county Sheriff, whose deputy arrested the teenager. The matter was settled in court.

> In 1974, two Local families who had been fighting over ownership of land resorted to a traditional Northwest rural method of conflict resolution. One family's residence nearly caught fire one night. Within a week, the opponent family's residence burned to the ground. Despite the context, which included some rather obvious evidence, the Sheriff's office ruled it an accidental fire and no investigation ensued. The burned-out family left town.

> In 1974, three drunken hunters threatened some Local men with a rifle after an encounter in the tavern. The Locals roughed up the men, broke the rifle, and ran the hunters out of town.

While the list could become long, it suffices to say that Locals are more likely to solve problems of even a severe nature by dint of personal prowess, and to avoid recourse to courts if at all possible.

At another level, behavioral variation is also controlled, but by quite different techniques, in the two structural categories. Personal behavior considered improper or unacceptable is ultimately controlled among Public Employees within the bureaucratic structure of work. A Public Employee who consistently behaves in a manner considered "unbecoming a professional" will ultimately pay for his/her transgressions by loss of job or, at least, lack of advancement. Moreover, original placement in Public Service is via educational channels which value such behavioral patterns highly, thus selecting as recruits people more likely to conform to "proper" behavior in the first place.

There is little, or no, chance that Locals would ever be penalized at work for non-work related behavior. However, a common theme of conversation among Locals is: "I went to [X] and I [did Y]. I know everybody was saying that I was a goddam fool, but do you think I give a damn? I couldn't care _less_ what those people say. I just don't give a shit." What "those people" say is usually not the issue, but how it is said is. A common method of pointing out unacceptable behavior is simply to mention it to the offender, frequently in a friendly, curious way, in casual conversation. But the subtle intonation patterns, facial expressions, and context denote a genuine element of surprise!

> "Oh, my, you wore a _dress_ today.. . .(pause) . . .Don't you look _nice_, though."
>
> "Oh, you planted your _garden_ already. Aren't you afraid your _peas_ will get _worms_?"
>
> "Those are nice shoes . . . for the _city_."
>
> "D'you ever think of _washing_ that truck?"
>
> "I see you painted your house _blue_ . . .(pause). . . Well, it sure is a _different_ color."

It is the surprise expressed which draws the parameters of expected behaviors. It is unusual for anyone to continue a behavior which has been thus defined as outside the expected patterns. This is, of course, common to all people in all societies and not peculiar to Quilcene.

A second line of social control mechanism via spoken words is to comment on someone's behavior in the presence of that person's friends, who will surely mention it to the person in question.

> "Did you see Roland after the wedding? God, right out on the main street . . ."

That such commentary is always a part of the fabric of Quilcene social life is well-known and accepted. It is the basis of the 'what they say' type of comment noted above. It also adds another dimension to the Local participation in public school decisions, since any attempt at public communication with Public Employees by Locals is openly ridiculed by other Locals.

> "I guess Nancy went up to the school board meeting last night."
> "Oh, did she?"
> "Yeah. I guess she figures she can have some impact. As if they're gonna listen to one of us." (Field Notes, 1974)

That Nancy is well aware of her neighbors' comments and attitudes is underscored by her own observations on the same day about the same meeting:

> "I know what they are all saying about me. Hell, I've said the same thing myself. But once, just once, I had to get my two cents' worth. Sure I got mad, but it was worth it." (Field Notes, 1974)

Boundaries. The Local lifeway, while drawing its historical roots from the logging adaptation to the Pacific Northwest, includes other occupational groupings as well. The strong commitment to personal autonomy, accountability and independence, hard physical work, and a particularistic approach to interpersonal relationships forms the core of the Local lifeway. Yet within the Local population there is considerable variation in terms of personal commitment, style, and beliefs.

It is difficult, if not impossible, then, to clearly bound that community segment we are calling Locals. The Local lifeway is a set of rules and beliefs about living to which various people hold varying degrees of commitment. Some of those who hold a deep commitment to that lifeway dramatize it in the public arenas we will discuss in Chapter 4. Some simply withdraw from open involvement in the life of the community, are never seen at social gatherings, and are difficult to bring into social circles to any extent.

Many of these folks are of the sturdiest, most self-reliant type. They build their own homes with timber from their own land. They stock their larder from forest and stream and garden. The make their living at logging or oystering or brush-picking or some combination of these, and are seldom seen "in town." They are not particularly anti-social. They are not impolite or difficult to talk with. They see no particular value to be gained in public displays of their own selves, but rather go about their way, neighborly when the opportunity arises, distant when it is convenient, leading their lives in their own fashion. Some are well-educated, a few are known in the larger arena of state or nation in their chosen spheres of interest or vocation.

Those who are given to public life display varying degrees of the commitment to the Local ethic. The Local community, then, is defined not so much in terms of locality (since ties and interaction occur all the way across the Peninsula) or a single occupation (since Locals engage in many occupations including occasional stints for Public Employee organizations), but in terms of ideological commitment. There is a core of closely related families and friends who form the most central grouping of Localness from which other Locals can be seen as varying in commitment radiating outward from that core. The bounds of the community are diffuse, and some folk only occasionally display that commitment, as the following vignettes demonstrate.

> 1. Richard is 25, a logger with two children. He and his wife rent a small home in a section of Quilcene almost exclusively Local in makeup. They host occasional parties for friends and neighbors, and there is usually someone visiting during the day. Both are imbedded in a large kinship network in Quilcene. Neither pays much, if any, attention to the school. They both attended school in Quilcene, and were popular and active participants in sports and other extracurricular activities. Neither is willing to be "bossed around," and Richard sees no other future for himself than logging. He assumes his children will grow up in Quilcene and live there as both parents have done before them.
>
> 2. Jack is in his early fifties, also a logger. His wife worked in Public Employment before they were married. He is imbedded in a kinship network in Quilcene; she was not. They live quietly and eschew parties and drinking, although they are both very sociable people. They are acutely aware of events in the larger world, and speak knowledgeably of Seattle, the University, events in Olympia and Washington. Their children are all college-educated and do not live in Quilcene, though they do come for visits.

3. Herbert is a Local non-logger businessman. His wife works occasionally part-time. They have several children in the Quilcene schools, and are very interested in the activities of the school at every level. They occasionally attend school board meetings (a rarity in Quilcene) and often have input into the proceedings. A couple of their children do quite well in extracurricular activities at the school, though none is academically inclined. They are intensely critical of some school activity, very supportive of other aspects of schooling. They are actively involved in youth organizations in the county. They are both imbedded in county-wide kinship networks.

4. Hank is not a logger and works out of the community. He is heavily imbedded in a large local kinship network, and is an elected county official. He takes great interest in school proceedings and, like most interested parties, is sometimes critical, mostly supportive. He is interested in community growth.

With a few exceptions, Public Employees, as a category, are much easier to identify than are Locals. Largely, the category is bounded by employment alone. There are other demographic criteria which tend also to be associated with Public Employment, however. The most outstanding of these is the almost transient nature of the work. Few Public Employees remain in Quilcene for more than five years. This is more true for the U.S. Forest Service and the school systems than for the U.S. Fish Hatchery and the State Shellfish Laboratory, but the latter organizations also have high employee turnover. Employee turnover for Public Employees involves family moves into or out of the community, since their "roots" are with their professional bureaucracy (see Table 1). This is in sharp contrast to Locals, whose roots are in the community itself, and who change employers if necessary in order to remain there.

There are, however, Locals who work for the Public Employee organizations. For some, this presents no problem, either because the work is temporary, or because the individual is not heavily committed to the central Local ideology. For others, particularly those who are both heavily committed to Local ideology and permanently employed in a Public Employee organization (a rarity), emotional conflict is high, and such individuals tend to display their Local commitment in very obtrusive ways. The two ways of life comprise relatively distinct and mutually exclusive systems, and internal components of each system clash with components of the other. Boundary straddling is clearly a stressful situation.

Table 1. Percent of Locals and of Public Employees who have lived in Quilcene/Brinnon various lengths of time

Length of time	Locals	Public Employees
less than 1 year	0	7.8
1 - 5 years	14.3	29.7
more than 5, less than life-time	62.5	60.9
whole life	20.0	1.6
uncodable	2.9	0

Source: Abt Associates Inc., 1974. From Resident Survey, using kinship affiliation to break out Locals and Public Employees.

Finally, it should be noted that some residents are neither Public Employees nor Locals. These exceptions are of two separate varieties. The first, and least visible, are the retired folk who seek to live quietly and cheaply not too far away from some urban center. As the conditions of the roads improves and the availability of health care increases, there is general agreement that the number of senior citizens in Quilcene and Brinnon has been increasing. Real fear is often expressed in Quilcene at levy time that the retired vote will go against the school levy and defeat it ("What do they care? It's not their kids in school."), but our observation has been that retired folk are likely to have more time to campaign in favor of levies, and often do so quite vigorously.

The second group of people without occupational affiliation we term "urban expatriates." These are young people who have become disillusioned with urban life, and choose Quilcene as a likely spot to "drop out." Although often ignorant of the basic survival techniques necessary in an isolated area like Quilcene, many are anxious to learn the skills they need and to make use of the advice and help that Locals can give them. Those who are willing and able to work usually find jobs and begin a transition toward the Local lifeway. The number of urban expatriates and senior citizens in Quilcene is unknown but increasing. In Brinnon, in 1974, over half the households served by the Post Office included no person who was gainfully employed; in such cases, financial support was derived from such sources as savings, social security, pensions, and disability insurance (determined by interviews with Brinnon Post Office personnel, 1974).

In Sum

This chapter has discussed a community cleavage in Quilcene that has wide-ranging impacts on all aspects of community life. The two major community categories of people--Locals and Public Employees--have differing values, lifestyles, interaction patterns, and views of the world. An understanding of these differences and the conflicts that result from them is crucial to understanding life in Quilcene and the ultimate fate of its federally stimulated Experimental Schools project.

CHAPTER 4: PUBLIC ARENAS AND SYMBOLIC ACTS

Commitment to one lifeway or another is expressed by a variety of symbolic acts that recur in daily life. We now discuss the relationships among symbolic systems (of both Locals and Public Employees) as they relate to the school and to other public arenas. The school is used as a case in point, to illustrate these systems of cultural meanings, because of its central role in community conflicts and because of its centrality to this research.

Symbols and the School

The role of symbols and symbolic thought in human behavior is widely recognized. Symbols and symbolization are the very building blocks of thought itself (Cassirer, 1944). A symbol is an object, word, idea, or thought which has cultural meaning. It refers not to the material world per se, but rather to the world of meaning (Hamburg, 1956; Bidney, 1949). A word is a symbol. It has meaning not in its physical sound, but in its intellectual referent. Humans, as Cassirer has pointed out, are symbolizing creatures. Indeed, one might add that symbolizing is essential to human existence. It is the building block not only of language, but of culture itself, and therefore of humanity (cf. Geertz, 1968:15-29).

While symbols are inherently mentalistic, they are never totally private. Symbols and meaning can only operate if they are shared. Meaning is a shared, and therefore cultural, phenomenon. Since symbols are shared by a population, they are eminently suited to analysis. As is frequently the case with such phenomena, their analysis is subject to controversy. It is perhaps this fact which accounts for the scarcity of symbolic analyses in the social sciences.

Like Ezekiel's "wheels within wheels," there seem to be many levels of symbolization. Symbols may be specific material items (e.g., a cross, the Liberty Bell, an open book) which represent much more ephemeral sets of ideas (e.g., sacrifice, freedom, schooling). The same item (e.g., the open book) may have very different, or slightly different, symbolic meaning depending on the context in which it is used, or even no symbolic meaning other than its essential self. When people in Quilcene speak of "the

The previous numbered page in the original document was blank.

school," they may be referring to the physical structure (grounds, buildings, equipment), as in the statement:

"That school is a mess!"

Or, they may be referring to the academic qualities of the educational process within the school, as in the statement:

"That school is a mess!"

Thirdly, they may be referring to the quality of administration within the school, as in the frequently heard 1973-74 assessment:

"That school is a mess!"

The point, I think, is made. Symbols must be analyzed in context. Clearly, the statement cited above means different things in three contexts, and many more such contexts could be listed in which the statement could be used. But all of the meanings listed would still be subsumed under the rubric "school."

To carry the discussion of "school" further, one might ask: What are the various meanings of the word? Certainly the dictionary meanings are soon exhausted, while cultural symbols (or folk meanings) continue to be elicited.

As a cultural symbol, school is the path to self-betterment; it is the little red building full of clean, bright-eyed children eager to learn; it is the high school where clean and stalwart country boys thrash the degenerate city smokers in a championship football game; it is the quiet classroom where the soft-spoken, brilliant scholar leads handsome young men and women to the intricacies of knowledge. The school is the symbol for equality of opportunity, for the melting pot concept of American amalgamation. At the national cultural level, the symbol School belongs with other "cultural charter" symbols (following Malinowskian usage) such as Freedom, Democracy, and the Constitution.

Such cultural symbols are never to be underestimated in terms of the emotional hold they exert in the minds of the people. These are the ideals against which daily life has meaning. And out of these cultural macro-symbols come the basic concepts of what a school should be, what a school should do. It is, in fact, a long step from the idealistic symbols listed above to the reality of a crowded, sweaty classroom. The media images do not often coincide with reality.

There is perhaps no sphere of activity in American life where the ideals of symbolic meaning conflict so sharply with the reality of personal experience as in schools. The great expectations culturally generated are already fully inculcated in American children by the age of six. Kindergartners arriving in school for their first day come charged with tense--and intense--demeanor, as well as with already learned behaviors which they know to be appropriate to school: they sit quietly, they take turns, they respond to group directions. They know they have become students; that there is new meaning in their lives. They are *in school*. It is a rare kindergartner who does not return home on the first day in emotional disarray. That first day is often but the first of a long series of disappointments to be borne in dealing with this cultural colossus so ingeniously disguised in the hum-drum buildings down the street. For some, these disappointments are offset by the process of certification, which opens new doors of economic opportunity. For others, the intellectual growth provides the antidote. For still others, there is only further disappointment. The lack of congruence between symbolic model and personal experience is fertile ground for frustration and anger.

In Quilcene, as elsewhere in America, Public Employee adults benefit from the process of certification in the schools. Diplomas lead to other diplomas or certificates; and higher job levels within the bureaucracy require more diplomas or certificates. One's career is directly related to one's educational background. For Local adults, as elsewhere in America, a basic education (literacy, mathematical expertise) is essential for dealing with the complexity of everyday life, including the operation of one's business. Certification, for Locals, is totally inconsequential. If one is to be a logger, or to run one's own business, a high school diploma, as a certificate, is useless. That is not to say that Locals do not value, or place value on, receipt of diplomas from high school. Quite the contrary. But its utility, other than as a symbolic artifact or as a certificate required for some employment, is limited.

For both categories of people, however, hopes and aspirations for their children are directly tied to the school. Here the cultural symbolism becomes paramount. Both Locals and Public Employees have a mental model of what schooling should be based on or in the macro-symbol Education. Both Locals and Public Employees believe (in the religious sense of the phrase) in the concept of Education. In this they do not differ from any other American community. They want their children to get a 'good education.' What exactly constitutes a 'good education' is seldom clear, and one hears many different replies, depending on the context and the speaker. But a 'good education' does include basic education, citizenship, and sportsmanship. It should culminate in a diploma.

Finally, within this symbolic structure of School is the Teacher. Just as there are models of Education, so are there models of 'teacher.' Here again the media images construct a near-impossible combination. A Teacher is an intellectual--dedicated--with drive and ambition. A Teacher's behavior is impeccable at school and at home. A Teacher commands respect at all times. And a Teacher works for slightly below average salary, while constantly attending summer schools to better his or her educational expertise.

School as Battleground

Quilcene school is in the physical center of the village on Highway 101 (see again Figure 3 in Chapter 3). It is the largest set of buildings in Quilcene, employs the largest number of people, and constitutes the largest gathering. It provides the only regular community meetings in the village, as well as the only significant elected offices. Since Quilcene is unincorporated, there is no other public service activity in Quilcene affecting the entire community. Finally, it is the only arena in which citizens can have direct input into the disbursement of tax monies. These facts, when taken with the symbolic ambiguity discussed above, are sufficient to ensure a prominent role for the school in village affairs. But there is, in addition, the major social structural cleavage discussed in earlier chapters.

Quilcene is a village divided: Public Employees are not even considered part of the Quilcene community by most Locals. They are, in fact, participating in the larger American society through their hierarchical systems. While most Public Employees merely participate in that tradition, the school personnel are active transmitters of it. Teachers adhere strongly to the sets of values that characterize the stereotypical American middle class (cf. Eddy, 1969; Chilcott, Greenberg & Wilson, 1968). Public Employees see their future as essentially bound to the bureaucracy of their professions. At least the upper-level bureaucrats wish to see their children enter some profession, which means a college education and an urban-oriented future.

Thus, Public Employees are urban-oriented in their aspirations for their children, even though they themselves may wish to live in a rural environment.

Locals, on the other hand, are bound to their networks of kin, and to their lives as rural people. Locals have local* aspirations for their children, and do not wish to see them become urban. But the local job market is restricted and relatively uncertain at best. The school, the media, and the economy all conspire to influence Locals to go to urban areas, to leave the close network of Quilcene. Many Quilcene young people do, in fact, leave, but of these many return--especially those who are embedded in a kinship network in Quilcene, or who have a financial stake in the land itself.

> Sally and I moved to Seattle right after we got out of high school. Boy, were we gonna have a good time, and were we ever excited about getting out of this place. But our apartment was expensive and we couldn't get good jobs. We didn't know a soul, and were we ever lonely. It didn't take long for me. I wanted to come back home. There wasn't much work here, but I came anyway. (Field Notes, 1974)

The School

In 1972, the Quilcene school system presented a decrepit and dying face to the world passing it by on 101. The old concrete high school gazed with empty upper windows and a peeling face at the weed-grown tennis court on the front lawn. Beer cans and cast-off lunch bags littered the borders of the school grounds. The broken reader board out by the parking lot which somehow never seemed to receive the few dollars' worth of care it needed, seemed to proclaim to the world the empty, sad contents of the buildings behind it. The roof joint between the cafeteria and the gym leaked, and even the new administration/junior high building needed paint. Trash cans, huddled under the administration building overhang, were clearly the targets of the strewed litter around them which, somehow, always seemed to have missed the mark.

Beyond the school fence, the broken jumble of machinery in the Buck Mountain Logging Company yard seemed to match, in the workaday world, the unkempt nature of the students' world. The dingy main drag of Quilcene, with its abandoned hotel, paint-peeling U.S. Post Office, and deserted

---

*Only "Local," not "local," refers to the sociocultural category.

"Jesus Saves" gas station looked like debris from the logging jobs which had denuded otherwise-majestic slopes beyond the village. The high Olympics, with their clean snow-clad peaks, were pristine in comparison. Nearer, forest hid the lovely countryside so close to hand. The happy shouts of children seemed out of place, an intrusion in the dreary atmosphere of school and village.

It was doubtless difficult for residents to justify the necessity of raising another $70,000 above regular taxes to support the school. That amounted to an extra $245 per student in a special levy, some 22% of the school's budget for that year. The special levies had grown considerably in the last few years--from 7% in 1969-70 to the 1972 level. Residents felt that the additional sums would be all right if the school "were a better place."

Each year in January or February, the subject of the levy was gingerly raised by the school board or administration. By the winter of 1972-73, community anger concerning the state of the school was becoming more focused. In February of 1973, the levy seemed to creep into every conversation, every interview we conducted:

> "Those damn levies have got to stop!"
>
> "They're nicklin' me to death! I wouldn't mind if it was a good school. But that place?"
>
> "It's true schools cost money, but our method of funding seems a bit silly. We shouldn't have to vote support of our schools every year. Then, too, there are other problems besides money here. I don't know."
>
> "They ain't passin' no Goddam levy this year!" (Field Notes, 1973)

Specific community complaints about the school centered around discipline. Several acts of vandalism had been committed within the school that year. The high school student council wrote a letter to the Quilcene school board expressing concern over rising vandalism and the lack of disciplinary measures to counter it. They recommended more stringent punishment for students caught vandalizing, stressing the low student morale which, they claimed, originated in inconsistent application of punishment. When the letter was formally presented at a school board meeting, the exchange between the student council president and the school board chairman was both heated and peculiar. Both parties argued the necessity of consistent disciplinary measures. Both parties were opposed to vandalism. Both parties were in favor of helping student morale and furthering education in the Quilcene school district. The student council president was angry, the school board chairman was defensive and irritated.

Another source of conflict existed. Every morning, high school students would cluster in front of the school or across Highway 101 for a smoke before school. During recess and noon hour, they found places either out of sight or just off the school grounds to smoke. They wanted an area within the school grounds where they could smoke legally. Some students were caught smoking and were periodically suspended or reprimanded. The situation was a constant source of irritation for all parties concerned. It also created a discipline problem. Some days, students could get away with it, when administrators and teachers were worn down by the empty battle. A number of community members felt that a student smoking room was perhaps the best of an otherwise bad bargain. As one Public Employee commented, "I'm opposed to smoking on the school grounds, but I think it would be less trouble to have a smoking area than what we've got now" (Field Notes, 1973).

Many people felt that a smoking area on campus would be less harmful than the existing morale problem. Students felt that they were persecuted for something any adult was legally able to do. Other community residents saw it as an empty issue or one with balanced pro and con arguments. Most felt that a better discipline policy would improve the situation.

The school board did not want to make a decision on the matter. They therefore decided to write a letter to the residents of the district asking for input. A special meeting was then held to discuss the issue, since the responses had been almost evenly split and few in number. The board was still open to suggestion. The audience, however, was largely composed of representatives of two church groups opposed to smoking. They maintained that school board approval of a smoking area was de facto approval of smoking. They said that the spectacle of students "all but making love" in the halls and on the lawn was bad enough without adding "smoke-filled rooms" into the bargain. They were clearly angry at the administration, and applauded those who spoke against the proposal. The school board dropped the idea as a result of the meeting.

As levy time approached, this anger toward the school board and the school administration became clearer. Village gossip linked Superintendent Binkley to all possible problems of the school. He was the alleged cause of the finance problem, the discipline problem, the dropout rate, the poor performance of Quilcene students on national tests, and so on. People said they wouldn't vote for a levy, yet the board was faced with exactly the opposite argument as well, which was voiced clearly at a special meeting held to discuss the size of the upcoming levy.

> "There is no point in pussy-footing around." The high-level Public Employee stood in the middle of the room, his presence dominating the meeting. "If you are going to have a school here, you can't run it on peanuts. Folks say they'll vote against it if it's too high. Well, I'll vote against it if it's too low! You need $150,000. That will give you enough for a good program. If you run at $40,000, you can't even keep what you've got! And what happens to your fine federal project if you can't keep what you've got?" (Field Notes, 1973)

As a part of the Experimental Schools project (see Chapter 12), California Achievement Tests had been administered to all pupils in the school. The test scores came back showing scores below the national average for all grades in the Quilcene school. The faculty was disheartened, but not surprised. They nodded knowingly about score distributions. Few students received scores that were at the national average for their grade level. Scores for most classes were in two clusters--a few high and a lot low. The faculty was convinced that it was clearly a case of home environment. They admitted some exceptions, but pointed out that in general, the low scores were from Local kids:

> "I tell you, Mike, you can't make a silk purse out of a sow's ear. These kids are culturally deprived. I feel more like a caretaker than a [teacher]." (Field Notes, 1974)

The tensions building in the community surfaced again on March 12, at the regular school board meeting at which two letters were read publicly; the first demanded that power of the superintendent within the school be limited, and the second demanded his immediate dismissal. Both letters expressed central concern with "the discipline problem." The first letter indicated that discipline should be the responsibility of the principal, Mr. Xaily, and that Dr. Binkley should be forced to stay out of it and thereby avoid muddling the authority structure. The second was much harsher; it accused the superintendent of being the sole reason for the discipline problem, and said he should be dismissed. The school board took the opportunity to begin a discussion of discipline and what to do about it, but said the second letter ought to be ignored. The administration was charged with developing a new discipline policy.

Community members complained among themselves and to others that the school was a mess, that students wandered all over town smoking and smooching during lunch hour, and that such behavior should not be allowed. At the same time, they were aware that the students had paintings and collages on display in the county seat and were attending regional band festivals. The Quilcene High School stage band participated in the Columbia Gorge Jazz Festival in March, the first competition of this kind a band from Quilcene had ever entered. They were the smallest school participating, and though they did not place high, they were far from last. The music teacher started outdoor practices with the band on days with good weather, and the sounds of a marching band could be heard all over Quilcene. These events provided a counterbalance to community dissatisfaction with student behavior.

In a special meeting, the board reduced the amount of the special levy to $100,000, since they had received word of the availability of unexpected funds from state and federal sources. Contingency plans were drawn up in case the levy should fail. Tension continued to build as levy day drew nearer.

> The faculty room in Quilcene High School was small. Coffee was brewing in a pot on the counter beside the sink. Three community women hovered over a large table in the center of the room, which was covered with charts.
>
> "Has Sammy voted yet?"
>
> "No, but his wife and sister came in this morning."
>
> "Darn him, he better get down here."
>
> Another woman entered the room carrying a slip of paper with a list of people who had voted in the last half-hour. She looked worried.
>
> "What is the count now?" asked the newcomer.
>
> "It's running about 3 to 2 against."
>
> "We always come very close to being right on this count . . ."
>
> The polls closed at 8 p.m. By that time, the little room was crowded. Three board members, the committee of poll-watchers, the superintendent, the principal, and two teachers were crowded into the room, drinking coffee as they waited. Conversation was low, weary. The school board chairman's wife entered with another slip of paper, looking dejected. The levy had been defeated heavily. (Field Notes, 1973)

April and May were difficult months for the Quilcene school. The earlier pattern of oblique references to dissatisfaction with the administration became much more blunt. In the cafe and in the barber shop conversation frequently turned to the school and to Dr. Binkley in particular. Talk of the levy was either angry or despondent. We had never observed levy time in Quilcene before, and did not understand that the lack of community volunteers to advertise and support the levy had been a significant public statement in itself.

In a special meeting called after the levy failure, a committee was formed to promote the levy on its second attempt. This committee was to put together posters and brochures explaining the need for the levy monies and requesting community support. All of this had to be done at the expense of the committee, since state law forbids a district to spend money promoting its levies. Attempts to discuss the failure of the levy inevitably became discussions of administration shortcomings, real or imagined. It was in a special meeting to discuss resubmission of the levy that the superintendent issue was again raised openly.

> When I came into the high school library, there were already over 25 people present, and more were coming in. Conversation was low and infrequent. The scraping of chairs and the clearing of throats seemed louder than usual. The tension in the room was evident in peoples' posture, their faces, the air of expectation. There were people in the room who supported the superintendent, but those people were not likely to speak out in a public meeting, I felt. The school board filed silently in and took their seats self-consciously, with deliberate motions. They looked at one another, and the chairperson opened the meeting. As they went through the routine parts of the meeting, the audience waited in silence. Finally, they came to the levy resubmission and the time to invite community input. They looked (and were) beleaguered. At this point, one of the audience said that he knew where 40 votes that had been negative in the last election could all be changed, providing Dr. Binkley resigned. The thing was said. The superintendent sat calmly while the board, in anger and embarrassment, said they would never be bulldogged into making such a decision by those tactics. But the levy had failed last time by a margin of 72 votes. A block of 40 votes in a village like Quilcene is a sizable number. Everyone there knew that there were others who voted for the same reason, and that even if the 40-vote threat was bluff, other voters did feel that way. Many in the audience knew that the protestations of the board were empty. (Field Notes, 1973)

At the same meeting, a couple of teachers made pleas for reason, pointing out that complaints about discipline could be talked over. It was unnecessary to assume that problems were not remediable. They suggested community-teacher meetings to discuss the problems of discipline and whatever else the community wished to discuss concerning the school. They also called on the school board and administration to turn the meetings into policy discussions so the results would not only get a levy passed, but improve the school permanently. Members of the audience agreed and promised to attend. But before the meeting adjourned, another teacher requested the board to act on the issue of Dr. Binkley's resignation.

The discipline meetings were held in the school in subsequent weeks. They were run by the music teacher and the science teacher, both of whom were concerned lest the problems facing the school be solved emotionally rather than rationally. Community members told faculty members in these meetings what they wanted in terms of discipline, and some basic issues were laid out clearly.

> The meeting vacillated between obvious trivialities and tension. The tension surfaced again with a student complaint.
>
> "Speaking of respect for teachers, there's one thing I'd like to say, and that is that it's hard to feel respect for a teacher who swears right on campus, and there's some in this room I've heard do it."
>
> "There you have it," said a parent, looking squarely at a teacher who had been in Quilcene some years. "If you guys could get yourselves squared away, things would improve around here!" Several people murmured assent. The teacher did not mention until much later in private that the student in question had the working vocabulary of a mule-skinner, but now looked quietly at the parent.
>
> "I've never claimed, despite community rumor to the contary, to be perfect. I have, in fact, made a few mistakes. But if you want to put your finger on an area sensitive to respect, we might begin with asking people to refrain from down-grading the teachers here in front of our students--your children. It's pretty tough to get respect when they've just heard Mom or Daddy say I'm a blankety-blank incompetent fool." The teachers and a couple of parents present smiled and nodded. Several people cleared their throats and some feet shuffled.
>
> "About this discipline policy thing . . ." (Field Notes, 1973)

The meetings did serve to get community input on discipline. The most consistent theme was that discipline should be reestablished quickly, that it should be absolutely impartial, and that the students should know "right now" where they stood. Nevertheless, the anger expressed at the meetings was still directed largely at Dr. Binkley's policies and actions. Combined with the 40-vote threat made in the school board meeting, the anger of these parents was effective. Despite public statements that the board would resign before they could be pushed into dismissal of the superintendent, they succumbed to public pressure. In May, Dr. Binkley (who alone was responsible for the application, the introduction, and the early form of the Experimental Schools project in Quilcene) was forced to resign.

> The little boat rocked gently to the wave action in Quilcene Bay. The sun was hot and the water inviting. A seal bobbed into view a few yards off the port beam and gurgled at us.
>
> "It's not that I'm sorry to see him go," the teacher explained. "It's that a few months ago we had such high hopes for changes that the federal project would bring. We really thought that community input would work out. You see what kind of input we got on this, though. The whole issue of Binkley was just emotional striking out at the school with no attempt to solve the problems we had rationally. As far as I'm concerned, if the federal project was to get the community into the running of the school, well . . . like I said, I'm not sorry to see the man go, but damn it, not this way!" (Field Notes, 1973)

Symbolic Acts and Open Meetings

The tenor of any meeting at the school where Locals interact with Public Employees is one of tension. Even the most mundane and trivial points are discussed with care. Issues that involve any dispute or disagreement are potential sources of open conflict. The general atmosphere, however, is one of small town living. Everyone knows everyone else, and while there may be a difference in category membership, all are ultimately neighbors. In relaxed times, this means that interaction in a school board meeting also includes concerned inquiry about the state of one's family health, aside discussions of local news items, etc., before continuing with school business. A visitor entering may be greeted by name and a friendly comment or two before business is resumed. In tense times, however, the multiplex interface of small town life generates a personalized anger which has wider repercussions than in a larger urban meeting. Tension in a school board meeting is signaled in many ways. Numbers alone are indicative, since people seldom come to such a meeting without a specific problem in mind.

Body posture is a well-known and documented communication device (see Hall, 1959). Friendly meetings are signaled by casual posture and smiles, audience discussions before (and sometimes during) business, "open" facial expressions. Tense meetings are signaled by "tight" posture (arms held close to the body, legs together, back straight), silence in the audience, "closed" or hostile facial expressions. Tension is clearly felt in such meeting rooms, a nearly palpable presence.

In Chapter 5, we discuss the two modes of decision-making typical of the two major social categories in Quilcene. Briefly, Public Employees tend to achieve consensus via bureaucratic modes, seeking mutual agreement through debate within a context of authority. Each process of decision-making is a reaffirmation of the granting of power to a centralized hierarchy by the body politic. Discussions occur about the pros and cons of an issue, people try to influence one another. Personal status is used as an argumentative advantage. Finally, via a vote or by fiat, the person in charge vocalizes the decision. In triumph or defeat, each person is then expected to participate in the next decision-making process with no hard feelings.

Locals, on the other hand, setting great store by personal accountability and independence, see such behavior as obtrusive attempts by some to control others--a violation of very basic Local beliefs. Any attempt to influence another's beliefs or opinions in the process of a discussion is assiduously eschewed. In the Local context, decisions are reached before a public discussion even occurs. Private discussions occur outside the formal meeting context, so that a person who is adamantly opposed to an issue can either absent himself/herself from the meeting to avoid public embarrassment, or can prepare for a public veto of the issue. Open opposition at a public gathering of Locals is usually enough to shelve the issue, at least temporarily. A local who attends a school board meeting, thus intending to participate in what is clearly a Public Employee decision-making process, is already aware of the probable public shame about to be endured. If the school board rules in favor of a matter which the Local has spoken out against, that Local is--from a Local perspective--deeply shamed. This emotion-laden issue is a thread woven throughout all public meetings in Quilcene. It has other aspects as well.

Public Employees do control resource allocation and access as part of their participation in state and national bureaucracies. Locals make a living from those resources. Locals therefore go to great lengths to avoid Public Employees, since the nationally supported control of Local livelihood is a constant abrogation of Local values on personal independence. In a public meeting, if school officials rule in opposition to the expressed desires of Locals, such an act is a public statement of Public Employee dominance in Quilcene life.

Finally, participation in public discussions brings on the "commentary" social control mechanisms noted in Chapter 3. All of these factors increase the natural tension of such meetings. It is social structural opposition, a loggerhead of values and attitudes, of symbolic representation, which sets the stage for the major act.

Conflict in the schools always revolves ostensibly around children. Though the conflict is generated elsewhere, the rhetoric of school is "for the good of the kids." All agree that the "good of the kids" is paramount. It is, in fact, a near-religious slogan in America's secular church. Like the macro symbol "School," it is amorphous, concerned with "education" and "the future." But the consistent opposition of values expressed in the two lifeways of Quilcene come to a head in its school. The universalism of bureaucratic Public Employee values is impressed on the schoolchildren six hours per day for 180 days per year.

Elementary school pupils are still malleable, and they are fresh from a situation in which parental control is autocratic. Local youngsters cannot help noticing that they are confronted daily in the Public Employee school with a systematic set of values opposed to their own. Moreover, a central value in the essentially middle class teacher is a refusal to grant alternate value systems any credence whatsoever (cf. Eddy, 1969:121-22). The central Local value of personal autonomy is contradicted not only by the middle class approaches to "vested authority," but by the very hierarchic structure of the school itself.

Paradoxically, Local parents, who were themselves previously the subject of consistent value denigration in the arena of school, may become very concerned that their children succeed within that system. Local parents are so indoctrinated with the concepts that the wider American tradition teaches--the value of getting ahead through education, the need for discipline in classrooms, the concept of measuring a child's inherent worth by the grades he or she receives in school--that they find themselves with very ambivalent attitudes: supporting the system in one breath, denigrating it in the next.

In any case, Local youngsters find it very difficult to identify with the teachers. They have heard all their lives the constant disparagement of the educated so common in blue-collar environments. They do not see academicians as particularly admirable people, and the source of this attitude is not difficult to find. Some of the educated, basically urban men who come to Quilcene are, in fact, inept in the woods and in rural living. The cases of educated men who come to Quilcene well equipped to deal with forest and country are simply not noticed. (After all, what is so unusual about that--from a Local perspective--aside from the fact of education?) But the cases which support the stereotype of "educated idiot" are carefully remembered, since it is the very nature of attention that it is directed towards the unusual. Finally, Locals see college-educated men and women earning far less than a *successful* logger of the same age.

By the time they reach adolescence, that time of "finding oneself," Local students, confronted with this wholesale assault on their value system, respond by over-identifying with their parental system. They respond very poorly to authoritarian classroom structures. They wear their Localness as a badge, and refuse to take interest in things academic, in knowledge for knowledge's sake. Caught in the typical adolescent bind, the Local teenager is urged by teacher and parent alike to behave properly and do well in school while the action values of his peers and parents are completely opposed to this behavior.

> Each year, the Quilcene Community Club sponsors a salmon fishing derby, and each year a very successful logger who used to live in Quilcene brings his big yacht down to Quilcene Bay to participate in the derby. It becomes the derby headquarters at the boat haven. This year, the derby coincided with the senior ball. The seniors were taken on a cruise down Hood Canal the evening of the senior ball in the big yacht. It was indeed a fine gesture. The seniors left the yacht in various stages of inebriation and went to the ball at the school. (Field Notes, 1974)

Teachers are expected to be neat, clean, "upright" members of the community. Coaches say, "I can't go into that tavern. What kind of example would I be setting for these kids?"

> In 1973, the girls' physical education teacher frequently kept her blue and white sweat suit on all day. Some community members were incensed. In a women's club meeting, it was expressed clearly, "She has a lot of nerve checking kids' fingernails when she runs around looking like that." (Field Notes, 1973)

> Early in our research, we were visiting with the superintendent and the Internal Recorder, in the ES project office. The superintendent began giving us pointers on how to study Quilcene. ". . .and I wouldn't use questionnaires if I were you. And Carol, I'd stay away from the tavern. No decent women go there." As the Internal Recorder (a Local woman) and I walked out of earshot, she said, "Hogwash, I go to the tavern all the time, and so does his secretary. Nobody thinks we're not 'decent women.'" (Field Notes, 1973)

Teachers are expected to maintain discipline and command the respect of the students. They are expected to conform exactly to the Local expectations of a Public Employee in order to gain the respect of the youngsters. Yet it is the hard-drinking, profane, successful logger who exemplifies all that is valued in Local culture. Teachers are censured by both Public Employees and Locals for behaving in ways not "proper" for the professional image of teachers. Other teachers pronounce such behavior "unprofessional," and the community denounces teachers for not living up to their expectations of what a teacher "is supposed to be." Against such odds, the teachers' chances of gaining the respect of the Local youth are slim.

Nonetheless, the attempt is made. Since the public schools in Quilcene and Brinnon have the children six hours a day for 180 days a year, and since the majority of school children in the two communities are of Local parentage, the potential for value conflict in the schools is clear. Periodic community outbursts of frustration and anger, such as the move to oust the superintendent in 1973 or the battle for school board positions in Brinnon in 1975, become more understandable in this light. In both communities, the school is a battleground for conflicting values, and the spoils are tomorrow's adversaries.

Symbol and Public Dramatization

Symbols are more than ideas from which other symbols derive. Symbols are also communicative devices. People use symbols to express desires, emotions, and commitments as well. The statement "I am a logger," like "That school is a mess," has separate meanings depending on its context.

Moreover, there are other ways of saying, "I am a logger" besides verbal ones. Loggers at work generally wear what amounts to a uniform: blue and white striped denim shirts, black denim pants cut off at the shin and held up with red suspenders, heavy caulked ('corked') boots, metal hard hats. Their clothing expresses occupation just as clearly as do the green shirts worn by the U.S. Forest Service.

Both Locals and Public Employees engage in symbolic expressions of their respective lifeways. The universalistic, bureaucratically oriented Public Employee uses the muted, power-by-innuendo symbols of the American middle class: "proper" clothing, quiet behavior, standard automobiles, uncluttered Better Homes and Gardens-style houses. They make a strong separation between work and home, between adult things and children things. Parties (of which more, below) are strictly adult occasions, since they believe it unseemly and generative of disrespect on the part of children to see parents "drinking" and "having fun."

In contrast, Locals tend toward more flamboyant public behavior. They like "hot" cars and "choppers" (rebuilt motorcycles). Loggers put fine leather rolled and pleated upholstery in their log truck interiors, "mag" wheels and strip-painted expensive designs outside. Most tractors are kept spotless and shiny. Clothing tends to be more "flashy" and personalized than among Public Employees, as well as more casual. Young Locals dress in the "student/hippie" mod styles when dressing up. Long hair and beards are common, though by no means the rule. In the Quilcene context, these behaviors, or symbols, denote Localness.

For both Locals and Public Employees, the public domain is a series of stages on which individuals dramatize their cultural or occupational commitments by symbolic expressions. These stages, in Quilcene, include the school, the tavern, and the parties which constitute the core of village social life. We have discussed the school as a battleground. The battleground is itself a public stage on which is acted out the physical expression of the confrontative, mutually exclusive natures of the two lifeways. The other two major arenas express more internal commitment, or intensification, of categorical lifeway.

Tavern as Theatre. The Whistling Oyster is the only tavern in Quilcene. It is located at the edge of the village in a relatively run-down section facing the highway. Its exterior is nondescript save for the name lettered in oyster shells on the outside wall. Its interior decor is typical of rural American taverns. There is a long bar on the right side as you enter which faces a few booths on the opposite wall. Sandwiched between are pool and foosball tables. Beyond the far end of the bar, another room contains a pool table and an electric hockey game. To the left, doors open into a dance room with tables around the perimeter and a band stage at the far end, where there is live music on summer Saturday nights. Decorations in the tavern proper consist of beer company advertisements (neon water, mountains, deer, canoes that move) or cigarette ads (plastic women fondling plastic men fondling cigarettes). The Oyster serves the ubiquitous pizza, plastic-wrapped sandwiches, and fried chicken. In addition, however, fresh clams and oysters are available.

The owners and bartenders are Local women. On any quiet afternoon there are several regulars, perhaps a few Local women, and occasionally a passing tourist. The evening crowd is also almost exclusively Local. Here any Local is sure of finding a kindred soul to talk with.

Despite the acceptance of outsiders at the gaming tables and the apparent indifference to the presence of outsiders, an in-group camaraderie characterizes the Locals in the Whistling Oyster. This camaraderie is expressed in a number of ways, including humor and in-group social pressures.

> Four Locals are playing at various games in the tavern. Ann is an attractive woman married to Bob. She beats both Chip and Dale at a board game in rapid succession. Chip jibes Dale, saying, "You must have had your eyes somewhere else besides the board," Chip repeats this jibe several times. Bob laughs good-naturedly. Finally Dale says to Chip in a rather formal manner, "OK, you've made your point."
>
> The comment is accompanied by an embarrassed silence among the seven or eight adjoining people. Dale's comment to Chip is neither threatening nor said in malice. After the silence the group resumes playing and talking as though nothing had transpired. No one makes further reference to the incident. Chip makes no further "jokes" of that nature. (Field Notes, 1973.)

Chip refused to recognize that his comments were unwelcome when Dale did not answer him. It became necessary to point it out and all of the nearby people reinforced the point by maintaining a minute's embarrassed silence. This pattern repeats itself daily in the tavern.

> I parked my pickup in front of the Oyster and noticed a strange Cadillac parked squarely in the road which branches off from 101 in front of the tavern. It was strange because not many Cadillacs park in front of the tavern and because it was in the middle of the road. I entered the Oyster and sat at the bar with George Black.
>
> "Whose Caddie in the street?"
>
> "Shut up," he said, and nodded his head down the bar. A rather dapper looking stranger sat there with a beer in front of him, plus an empty glass signifying another beer in the offing. George and I talked until the room took on its usual murmur.
>
> "Who is he?" I asked.
>
> "Beats me."
>
> A couple of other people came into the tavern during the next half hour and each one asked about the car and was quickly silenced. It was a second unusual circumstance that finally resulted in the stranger becoming aware of the situation. Two teachers, both of whom straddle the Public Employee/Local division, stopped in for a beer. One of them asked in a very loud voice if the guy with the Caddie in the street had good insurance. At this point the stranger got up and left with a peculiar expression. No one laughed until he was gone. (Field Notes, 1975.)

The use of the stranger as outside butt of Local humor automatically included all participants in a group activity which fosters a sense of belonging to the tavern group. In this instance it also maintained the distance between Locals and Public Employees, as it was a Public Employee who finally tipped the stranger off.

On Saturday nights during the tourist season, there is live music in the Whistling Oyster and dancing in the separate dance hall. People crowd in to fill the tables and dance to the generally Country and Western bands. Particular favorites are a combo from Quilcene and an out-of-town group which includes a popular woman fiddler. On special nights (such as when one of these two groups plays) the dance room is crowded and even a few Public Employees attend, though they usually sit by themselves and leave early. On summer nights, it occasionally happens that over half of the crowd are tourists from one of the nearby campgrounds. There is a cover charge for dancing. Men in work clothes freely mingle with more dressily attired folk. Dancing styles tend to be slightly flamboyant.

Most Public Employees do not frequent the Whistling Oyster. From the Public Employee perspective it is, first of all, a bar, and therefore a place not frequented by "proper people." Secondly, it _is_ frequented by Locals, who are seen by Public Employees as drunken, pugnacious, and promiscuous, especially in the tavern. Locals are generally civil to those Public Employees who do enter the tavern, but such occasions are rare in any case. Locals imply that this acceptance would not be the rule if Public Employees were to be regular customers, that in fact violence would ensue. They point out that there is a lot of hard feeling between "loggers" and "Forest Service."

The Whistling Oyster tavern, then, is seen as a public arena or theater in which Locals dramatize the values they hold dear, and in which the boundary between Locals and Public Employees is emphasized by the limited participation of the latter in tavern activities.

Gatherings. In addition to the tavern and school, interaction also occurs in the arena of quasi-public parties. With the coming of spring, the annual round of large Local parties begins. These affairs are sponsored by one or more families at a time, and are held about every two or three weeks for the duration of the summer season. The advent of a party is announced when someone begins to talk about last year's party and the planning for this year's party. Occasionally, this is precipitated by a friend accosting the person in public: "Hey, Mary, aren't you going to have a party this year?"

Once the fact is announced, a date is usually made within a week or so. Everyone then begins to plan for attendance. Usually, the family or families in question provide the first keg of beer and perhaps an animal to roast. Close friends also contribute salads, paper cups, hot dogs, and so forth to defray the cost. As people begin to arrive, the host may occasionally designate someone to help collect money for the second keg. Such parties may be attended by a hundred people or more. Families come in their entirety, and children play until exhaustion sets in. They are either taken home or put to bed in large numbers in the host's home. Dancing usually begins about dark if there is any place flat enough to substitute for a dance floor. Occasionally live music is provided and a living room is cleared for dancing. These parties last far into the night. The occasional fight between young randy combatants does not generally involve innocent bystanders. There is the occasional flirtation or tryst. As everywhere, some parties are better than others and some are the subject of conversation for months afterward.

> Smoke from the cooking fires drifted out over the bay, wafting the smell of burning alder and roasting pig to the water-skiers executing deft movements offshore. Kegs of beer were cooling in

82

> the shade, foci of groups of jovial men. Children laughed and splashed in the shallows, calling to one another, fire-burned hot dogs gripped in grimy little hands. Couples huddled against cars and pickups in the tall grass. Ribald comments were flung at the bearded young man turning the pig on its spit over the fire, but his laughing response was drowned in the noise around him. A burly logger cuddled his three-year-old son on his lap, holding the child's hot dog with one hand, his own flagon of beer with the other. His wife sat on a drift log with other young women of her age. The meat, the beer, and much of the rest of the food was provided by one family which traditionally gives such a party once a year. There were nearly a hundred thirsty, hungry folk.
>
> From my vantage point high on a drift log, catching the last of the evening sun, I could see nearly everybody there. Carol, Megan, and I were the only people there who were either unrelated to many others present or who did not make a living from logging or oystering. (Field Notes, 1973.)

There are traditional parties, put on by the same families or the same organization. There are all-Local parties, all-Public Employee parties, and very few mixed ones. The most striking differences between Local and Public Employee parties are the presence of children, and size. Local parties tend to be large, and children and parents come together. Public Employee parties tend to be smaller, and are entirely adult. Children are excluded, and pains are taken to ensure that children are not exposed to adult merrymaking.

The mixed parties that *do* occur are usually those formally announced ones put on by some cross-cutting organization. Each spring the Quilcene Volunteer Firemen put on a dance which is announced in the county paper and by posters distributed in Quilcene and elsewhere. This is usually a high point of the annual round and is anticipated with delight. It is the only regular social event which all people from all groups feel comfortable attending. Due to the need for cutting costs and increasing attendance to maximize income for the Fire Department, a large structure is needed which is cheap to rent. Also needed is a place where drinking can occur legally. The State Liquor Board had given the VFD considerable trouble over illegal drinking at the last couple of balls. In 1975 there was no Firemen's Ball at all. The community at large sorely missed the event and arrangements were made to reestablish it in 1976.

The round of summer parties is initiated in early summer by one of the traditional parties, followed regularly throughout the summer by other great and small ones. Christmas time is another time of high activity, in which various Public Employee organizations sponsor Public Employee parties. There is a Forest Service Christmas party usually held at the VFW hall, a teachers' Christmas party usually held at a teacher's home, and the Washington Shellfish Laboratory party usually held at the director's home. Other smaller parties occur at all of the holidays (Thanksgiving, New Years, Easter, the Fourth of July, Halloween).

Parties indicate one's social sphere, that group of people with whom one associates and identifies. It is indicative of the community division that the vast majority of parties occurring in Quilcene are either Public Employee or local in constituency. Very few occasions call for a mixing of these groups. Parties become rites of inclusion or of intensification which publicly demonstrate the allegiance of all of the people there. It is for this reason that the Firemen's Ball takes on significance, for within the Quilcene Volunteer Fire Department, Local and Public Employee men demonstrate their common participation in the overall fabric of the community of Quilcene without the rancor of most joint endeavors.

In Sum

Both Locals and Public Employees, then, express personal and categorized identity through public dramatizations, using these public arenas as stages.* Within each category of people, the shared meanings of symbols ensures a mutually compatible set of behaviors and conversations. Across the categorical boundaries, the same symbols are given different meanings and interpretations. The boisterous camaraderie of the Whistling Oyster is called drunken violence by Public Employees. The concern with organized authority and tradition in bureaucracies is called passing the buck by Locals. Further, the meaning attached to major cultural symbols such as Freedom, Education, and School, while containing considerable shared elements, shows significant variation between the two categories of people. Thus, the world of symbol and meaning reflects the dichotomous nature of occupational affiliation and resource usage and control. All are aspects of the major social and cultural dichotomy which permeates the world of Quilcene.

---

*Other areanas exist in Quilcene, but are generally further examples of those already discussed. The cafe serves as arena, as does the parking lot in front of the U.S. Post Office. (Interestingly, very little overt dramatization occurs within the Post Office itself. It becomes a "no man's land," immune to the uses other public buildings serve.) Small gatherings out of town--in Port Townsend or Sequim or wherever--also serve as small-scale arenas.

CHAPTER 5: COHESIVE DIVISIONS*

The Public Employee/Local division discussed in earlier chapters derives from male occupational affiliation, although it also affects the lives of women, children, and people without occupational affiliations. In similar fashion, social structural principles derived primarily from women's social interaction affect the rest of the community. While men are at work, women engage in other activities that have important sociocultural impacts in the community and in the school. Adult women's activities serve the same kinds of role model functions for children and adolescents that adult men's activities serve (except that women as childraisers are available at all times, while men are only available when off work). And women's experiences in school prepare them for particular kinds of participation in adult life, just as men's school experiences are designed to prepare them for their traditional role as breadwinners.

In this chapter, we concentrate on the three major factors in women's grouping behavior in Quilcene: the Public Employee/Local split as manifested in voluntary association; age-grading as a basis for friendship and association; and kinship as the responsibility and domain of women. Since voluntary association, kinship, and age-grading also affect the lives of men, though to a lesser degree, men's participation and role in these three "cohesive divisions" are also discussed.

Voluntary Associations

Warren (1965) and Hsu (1963) have both noted the proliferation of clubs and associations in American life. The people of Quilcene frequently pointed out to us the abundance (indeed, overabundance) of organizations in the village. Warren says:

> Undoubtedly one of the reasons for this plethora of associations lies in the nature of our society, in which large areas of important activities have been left for action outside the official channels of government (1965:285).

Quilcene, with virtually no governmental structure of its own and with very little representation in the county government (over half the county population lives in Port Townsend), certainly has large areas of activity which are ignored by officialdom.

---

*A more detailed discussion of some of the data presented in this chapter is available in Colfer (1977).

Hsu interprets Americans' proclivity for joining clubs as a means "for the satisfaction of their basic needs for sociability, security, and status" (1963:209), needs which he feels are met in China by the clan and in India by caste membership. In fact, sociability and security are important components in Quilcene's clubs, but the degree to which status can be enhanced by club membership is questionable. Hsu's data are largely from urban, midwestern, and relatively elite settings where status advantages are more commonly associated with membership in certain clubs. But in Quilcene, where status differences are not so clearcut, intentional exclusion from formal groups is unheard-of; indeed, members actively seek out new residents and boast when their club's membership increases. Additionally, a new member is appreciated as an extra pair of hands for club projects. The most potent barriers to membership in clubs are inadvertent, and derive from differing views of appropriate interpersonal communication and from mutually uncomplimentary stereotypes on the part of Locals and Public Employees rather than purposeful attempts on the part of club members to exclude people.

A look at the overall patterns of voluntary association is important to an understanding of the community for a number of reasons: (1) participation in voluntary associations is almost synonymous, in local parlance, with participation in the community; (2) much of day-to-day life in Quilcene, particularly for women, occurs in the context of voluntary associations; (3) problems, or locally perceived community needs, are typically responded to by such organizations; and (4) the extent of adult women's participation in such groups is a potent force or example in forming students' expectations of what a woman's life involves. Therefore, to fully understand the impact of community lifeways on students and on events in the school, one must understand what kinds of organizations exist, what they do, and how they function.

Besides the formal clubs (to be discussed shortly), Quilcene has a number of "boards." Boards are either elective or appointive, and usually composed of older men and women. The members share responsibility for a special building or activity--the school board, the community center board, and the Presbyterian Church board are the most visible community boards. Board positions are often filled by cajolery and appeals to people's sense of community responsibility. Unless some issue or controversy is being debated in the community, people appear reluctant to take on the added responsibility, time, and work that inevitably accompanies such membership. (Quilcene's school board is discussed at length in Chapter 9.)

Boards are responsible for hiring the minister of the church, the superintendent of the school, and the director of the community center. Community feelings about these employees weigh heavily on board members. When such employees are unpopular in the community, board members are urged to fire them and are blamed for bad judgment in hiring them in the first place. Anxiety about such probabilities makes people ambivalent about accepting positions on boards.*

A number of rather familiar organizations for young people exist in Quilcene, including 4-H, Girl Scouts, Boy Scouts, Little League, and Youth Club. Such groups impinge on the adult world by requiring transportation, chaperones, coaches, teachers, judges, and referrees. The necessary volunteer work with pre-adult groups is largely done by women, except for activities connected with sports. Both men and women help with Little League and with other activities in which only boys have traditionally been allowed to participate.** As young people proceed through the grades in school, an increasing number of their entertainment activities are organized by the school (and relabeled "extracurricular activities"). By high school almost all activities are organized by the school, although volunteers are sometimes solicited for chaperoning, helping the coaches, and providing transportation.

The importance of the sports program at the school is felt throughout the community; sports events, unlike any other activity, are attended by all ages and all segments of the community. Until 1974-75, the sports program was for boys only. The adolescents group, in the school context, plan and raise money for dances and sports-connected activities. Fund-raising efforts include community dinners; the sale of candy, stationery, and crafts; direct solicitations for specific projects like the school annual; and carwashes. It is easy to see the genesis of the grouping patterns of adults in the way adolescents are taught to group in school (see Chapters 10 and 11).

---

*People frequently note that school superintendents and ministers "only last about four years in Quilcene." Although the same minister has remained since 1972, by 1978, there had been four superintendents. And the director of the community center is not sanguine about her job security.

**Recent governmental rulings have made such single-sex activities increasingly difficult, since they are considered discriminatory and therefore potentially illegal. From 1974 to 1976, the number of sports activities available for girls expanded dramatically, and now girls participate in basketball, Little League, and track and field events.

More ephemeral adult groups with more specific interests and goals spring up from time to time. The community choir, which has had a sporadic existence since 1974, appears to be on its way to becoming an established organization. Mothers group from time to time to influence decisions or policies in the school, coming together, organizing, and disbanding when their goal is accomplished (e.g., to prevent smoking on the school grounds, or to protest combined classes* in 1973). Members of an evangelistic religious commune just north of Quilcene organized a block of 40 votes in 1973 to defeat the levy if certain changes were not made in the school system (most notably, firing the superintendent). A group of men approached the school board en masse to influence the school administration's decisions about coaching in the school in 1975.

But the heart of formal adult association is in the 17 clubs, 15 of which are segregated by sex. Men can join the Masons, the Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW), Lions International, and the Volunteer Firemen. Women can join the Grandmother's Club, Order of Eastern Star (female auxiliary to the Masons), VFW Auxiliary, Garden Club, United Presbyterian Women, Presbyterian Circle, Royal Neighbours of Woodcraft, Quilcene Homemakers, Quil Valley Homemakers, Preschool Parent-Teacher Association, and the Quilcene Cooperative Preschool. Both men and women belong to the Community Club and the Grange.

These clubs serve vital communication functions in a community where there is little in the way of formal, localized communication media. When someone needs to "spread the word," the most efficient way is to telephone an officer or a member of each club in town and request that an announcement be made at the next club meeting. This two-step method is sufficient when simple information dissemination is the objective. When persuasion may be necessary, proponents of a particular point of view become more actively involved. For instance, members of the committee that forms to pass the school levy each spring feel they must personally attend meetings, present the arguments in favor of passing the levy, and be available for questions from the club members. The clubs can also be used as resource pools for the acquisition of labor, money, donations in kind, or organizational ability.

---

*Combining classes is the practice of putting two or more grades in one classroom, with one teacher.

There is a significant difference between clubs composed of older members and those composed of people in their "productive years." Most of the latter are characterized by a rather clearcut differentiation between Public Employees and Locals;* the former are not. Older people--regardless of former occupation--associate primarily with older people, following the age-grading principle to be outlined later. Many people in Quilcene's large retired population have no relatives in town. Their membership in clubs is one of their main sources of human companionship. Members call on one another, report to the clubs when one of the members is ill, arrange visits and send get-well cards, and arrange transportation for those too old to drive. For older residents, the clubs serve as sources of sociability and security in a very real sense. Older men congregate in the Masons and the VFW; older women gravitate toward the Grandmothers' Club, Order of Eastern Star, VFW Auxiliary, Garden Club, Presbyterian Circle, United Presbyterian Women, and Royal Neighbours of Woodcraft. The Grange likewise attracts older people of both sexes.

Detailed discussions of three representative clubs follow:

Quil Valley Homemakers'Club. The twelve active Quil Valley Homemakers** have an average age of 30, with a median age of about 28. All are married and have children, and only one is married to a man who does not work for the U.S. Forest Service. Membership in the club is theoretically open to all women, but the actual membership is remarkably homogeneous.

The stated purpose of the Quil Valley Homemakers is to learn about homemaking. A Homemakers' Club is defined as:

> a group of six or more women who work together for the improvement of their homes and communities--and who recognize that education is a continuing process. (Yearbook, 1973:3.)

"Homemaking" includes such topics as handling finances, frugal shopping, food preservation, consumer education, menu planning, and interpersonal relations. The members also acknowledge the club's importance as a "social outlet," a chance to get together with other women.

---

*The Volunteer Firemen stand out as the only formal setting in which Local and Public Employee men voluntarily associate.

**The data for this section were collected in 1973. Quil Valley Homemakers had grown to over 20 members by 1976 and was considering fission due to size. The club retains its defining characteristics.

As part of the Quil Valley Homemakers' Club, the women are part of a nationwide, governmentally supported Extension Service; they, like their husbands, are part of a bureaucracy that reaches to Washington, D.C. In general, information on homemaking flows downward to Quil Valley Homemakers and reports flow upward from Quil Valley Homemakers. Meetings are highly structured; a mimeographed agenda exists for every meeting and is faithfully adhered to. On the third Wednesday of each month from September through June, the women assemble at the home of a different member. At the beginning of the year each woman chooses which month to host the meeting and which lessons on homemaking she will attend and teach to her fellow members. When dues are paid the members receive the little booklet that contains the year's agendas for each meeting. For each month a song has been chosen, with the words printed at the back of the booklet, as well as a lesson topic. Attendance is taken, and each member must answer a preselected question when her name is called--e.g., what is your favorite trick to save time? or what did you do for Christmas? Each month a member volunteers to provide the "inspirational reading" for the next month, and a different committee "chairman" is required to contribute some bit of information on the activities or concerns of her committee each month (e.g., safety committee, international committee).

Informal talking is allowed for a half hour, the next hour is devoted to club business, and the last hour is reserved for the lesson. Visiting and informal or irrelevant discussion during the business meeting or lesson are strictly curtailed by the president. There is an ethic that recognizes the responsibility members take on as members, and individuals are expected to do their share. If a person has not volunteered to go learn the lesson for close to a year, pressure is applied by other members to persuade that individual to do her part.

Each year a form is filled out by every Homemakers' Club called the "Standard of Achievement." The data recorded include such information as number of meetings held, number of community learning experiences sponsored, attendance, number of new members, and so on. An award is given to clubs which meet the Standard of Achievement; Quil Valley has reached that standard every year since its inception. The members are concerned with "following the rules" and "doing things the right way."

Hostesses usually prepare elaborate refreshments, served in their best dishes, and the members dress more formally than usual. Formal childcare arrangements are available at a reduced rate.*

In 1973, the community activities of the club included the provision of volunteers for the Timber Festival (coordinated by the Community Club), organization of several informal classes taught by community members (e.g., Chinese cooking, appliance repair, sewing with knits), and several special dinners for members at restaurants in neighboring cities, in addition to their monthly "lessons." Financial costs associated with membership are minimal. The club's annual contribution to the high school's home economics class seldom exceeds $20. In 1974, an innovative member suggested having an auction once or twice a year in which members bring donations of old clothing, canned goods, hand-sewn items, or anything else that might sell and auction the items off to friends and fellow members. The first auction raised $40, an amount far exceeding the usual balance in their treasury; the auction now has a firm place in Quil Valley Homemaker activities.

Preschool Parent-Teacher Association. Contrasted to Homemakers, with their wide-ranging bureaucratic affiliation and extremely organized format, is the Preschool PTA. PPTA was originally organized in 1949 by a Local woman with preschool children, and until the spring of 1973 was formally a member of a statewide PPTA. At that time, however, members (like Garden Club members) decided that the dues paid to the larger organization were yielding no advantage to the local PPTA, so formal affiliation was broken. Although all women with preschool children are theoretically members of PPTA, most of the ten active mothers** are members of the Local population and have children at or approaching kindergarten age. Most PPTA members are in their early twenties. The ever-changing percentage of Public Employee women in PPTA is greater than the percentage of Local women in Quil Valley Homemakers, but PPTA retains its predominantly Local flavor.

---

*Quil Valley Homemakers and Quilcene Homemakers split in late 1972. The two reasons given were (1) the membership (24) was too large for accomodation in private homes, and (2) the number of children was too great for the babysitter to care for.

**All clubs in Quilcene are subject to extreme fluctuations in membership interest and commitment; PPTA is no exception.

The function of PPTA is to serve the interests of preschool children. When the organization began there was no kindergarten in Quilcene. PPTA formed a cooperative kindergarten in 1949 which continued until kindergarten was included in the regular public school program in 1956, and the organization maintains an active interest in kindergarten affairs. In 1973, this interest manifested itself in donations of equipment, organized offers of volunteer labor in kindergarten, and active lobbying to keep kindergarten a self-contained classroom. In addition, the group organized community parties for all preschoolers at Easter, Halloween, and Christmas. At Christmas, PPTA traditionally stages an appearance of Santa Claus atop a fire engine at the Quil Cafe.

The dependence of Quil Valley Homemakers on the U.S. Extension Service (for educational materials, expertise, organization) is matched in the case of PPTA by their dependence on community goodwill. Children's events require considerably more resources (money, time, and goods) than do the educational "happenings" of Quil Valley Homemakers; to support these activities, PPTA runs the relatively lucrative community calendar. PPTA members divide the school district into nine geographical areas, and each mother takes an area. She then contacts every household in her area to take orders from the people who want their family's birthdays and anniversaries included on the calendar or who would simply like to buy it. The women then compile the information and send it to a company for printing. The calendars are inexpensive; most community members buy them and most community businesses buy advertising in them. This project provides about $300 per year for PPTA. Other fund-raising activities include the sale of sandwiches at the Lions' weekly bingo games, the organization of community dances, bake sales, and rummage sales, besides the annual bid for dozens and dozens of eggs at Easter.

The PPTA, in contrast to Quil Valley Homemakers, is a very informal organization. Young mothers clad in levis gather on the first Monday evening of each month of the school year in the high school home economics room. Members, officers and otherwise, often arrive late, and plastic coffee cups and paper plates are constantly being refilled with the refreshments provided by the "hostess" for that month or by anyone else. Despite the existence of formally elected officers, no attempts are made to abide by parliamentary procedure or to finish the business quickly.

Although an occasional speaker is brought in for a meeting, most meetings focus on the accomplishment of the next traditional task (e.g., the Easter egg hunt, dividing up the work for the calendar project, or who is to arrange Santa's arrival).

The informality of meetings carries over to the accomplishment of PPTA goals. The PPTA members met, for instance, to decorate the site of the Easter egg hunt and to dye the Easter eggs. The president arrived a half an hour late, there was only one pan, there were no hot water, dye, paper, grass, candy for the Easter baskets, staplers or scissors. No one knew how many eggs would be donated or how many children to expect at the hunt. Gradually, as the evening wore on, women left and went home for the necessary articles. No one directed anyone else, although there was some discussion of who had gone to get what.

Each year PPTA sponsors these same children's functions but there is little transfer of information from year to year. PPTA members display the same marked aversion to "bossing" behavior as loggers exhibit. Decisions are made by consensus, or else someone decides by herself to do whatever needs doing. Efficient accomplishment of the task at hand (dyeing Easter eggs) is considered less important than everyone's enjoyment of a pleasant, convivial evening together. For Local women, PPTA provides a legitimate excuse to leave their children at home with their husbands and to enjoy the company of their friends. It is noteworthy that despite their cavalier attitude toward "efficiency" the tasks _do_ get done.

Lions International. Lions International is one of the largest men's clubs in the world. Dedicated to the "betterment of mankind," it now spans most of the non-Communist world. As part of District 19-I, which encompasses the Olympic Peninsula in Washington and Vancouver Island in British Columbia, the Quilcene club is part of a district that is largely composed of Canadian clubs. Most of the administrative decisions made on a district level are made in Canada, and those decisions are binding on clubs in the United States. International relief work, which plays a large part in the budget and ethos of Lionism, is administered from Canada although the only paid members of the district (the District Secretary and his secretary) live in Washington. Lion officers at all levels are elected annually; high-level candidates replicate the usual election scene in America, with campaign managers and the attendant hoopla. Officers are installed each spring in highly ritualized ceremonies.

Lions International is a man's world. Though some clubs have women's auxiliaries and junior Lions Clubs for the sons of Lions, there were no women members anywhere between 1972 and 1976.* The overall organization is one aimed largely at businesspeople and the code of ethics for Lions is concerned in large part with the ethical behavior of businessmen. Whereas Homemakers and Preschool PTA almost never invite husbands to their functions, Lions has institutionalized "Ladies' Night" to which wives are invited.

The Quilcene Lions Club is composed of a core of 8 to 12 men, though there are usually about 20 registered members at any one time. The core members trade offices about among themselves; office holders in any Quilcene club are the workhorses as well. Projects that are accepted and acted upon by the Lions Club are usually carried out by less than a half-dozen men. Not infrequently, the tasks are carried out by the wives of the Lions (Ladies' Nights are recognition of this debt).

Of the dozen or so regularly attending Lions in Quilcene, only one is a genuine Public Employee. The others all fall (with varying degrees of fit) into the Local category as previously defined. Prospective officers are cajoled and connived into accepting a nomination for next year's office. Very rarely are two people suggested for the same office at the same time, so the nomination is in fact an appointment. When the slate is offered to the club officially, someone moves the nominations be closed and the slate is voted in by a unanimous decision--the kind best liked by all Quilcene clubs.

The Lions Club is the men's club most active in community affairs. They support boys' clubs (e.g., Little League or Boy Scouts), they contribute to the maintenance of the Community Club's streetlights fund, and prior to Community Action's entrance into the community in 1974 they provided baskets of food to needy families at Christmas and Thanksgiving. The much-used reader board in front of the school was erected by the Lions Club to facilitate community-school communication; and the club built and maintains shelter sheds for students waiting for the school bus. They were also instrumental in the fund-raising necessary to purchase a scoreboard for Quilcene High School's football/baseball field.

---

*We are not certain of the current (1979) status of this question.

Lions also performs a vital health care function in the area of eye and vision problems. The whole district participates in an extensive program to support and equip the University of Washington Medical School's Eye Bank. In return for the extensive support given to the University by Lions in the Northwest, the University supplies low-cost eye testing, treatment, and surgery to patients brought by Lions. This cost is usually borne by the local clubs themselves. Thus, much of the money taken in by the Quilcene Lions Club goes to bills at the University Medical School for treatment of patients taken there by Lions from Brinnon and Quilcene.

Lions money comes from a variety of fund-raising activities. Each year, the owners of the Quil Cafe turn the cafe over to the Lions for one day, complete with a waitress, and let the club keep the profits. This is the Lions' single largest money-making venture of the year. On Cafe Day, Lion wives bring baked goods to sell while Lions cook, wash dishes, and wait on tables. There is usually a good turnout and many community members eat two meals in the cafe in support of the Lions' efforts.

Other fund-raising activities include the cutting and sale of firewood, the operation of the weekly bingo game in the youth center (later the community center), and internal fund-raising. The latter includes club dues, fines on members during meetings (a dime for not wearing the pin, a quarter for coming late), the auctioning of goods during a meeting, and the resale of other clubs' items "lifted" during inter-club competition. It is not uncommon for the club to raise as much as $10 during a meeting from fines and internal sales, and the sum goes up to $30 to $35 if an auction is held. Thus the Lions Club is dealing with considerably larger sums of money than are any of the women's clubs in the village.* Men, as primary breadwinners, typically have access to more money to spend on such activities than do women.

Decision-making Processes

Among all the clubs discussed above there are important commonalities in the decision-making process. All reflect a strong desire for consensus in decision-making and a distaste for public conflict of any kind. Roberts' Rules of Order have a place in virtually all clubs, but serve only a ritual function since public disagreement is avoided so assiduously.

---

*Typical treasuries include: PPTA, $200; Homemakers, $40; Lions, $1,500.

If a club member has an idea that he or she suspects may be controversial, the initiator may telephone fellow members known to be sympathetic to the idea and request support at the next meeting. Such apparently spontaneous support in a public context can inhibit opposition. When no opposition is anticipated or when an idea does emerge spontaneously during a meeting, the initiator voices his or her suggestion. Among women's groups, if anyone comments unfavorably the suggestion may be dropped or it may be reworded slightly and put forth again. If negative responses still continue (even if from only one person), the matter is dropped. Men's clubs seem to tolerate more dissension, but matters still are not allowed to escalate to true debate:

> During a regular Lions meeting, John suggested we give some money to the Preschool Cooperative for scholarship money for families who could not affort to send their kids to preschool.
> Jim: I'm against it. I don't believe in preschool and see no reason to support it.
> George: I flunked first grade, and I and the other kid who flunked were the only ones who had not had preschool. I think it's a good idea.
> President: I think we need more information on this...
> Arthur: If we are going to support education, let's give a scholarship to a college-bound youth...
> Edward: I think we should just give an amount of money to the preschool to reduce the cost for everybody rather than scholarships for poorer kids. It's fairer.
> Michael: I don't want Lions money paying for my child's tuition when I can certainly afford to pay for it myself.
> President: I think we better get some more information on this subject and bring it up for discussion again when we can get a better handle on it. I don't, for one, know enough about the needs here to make any kind of decision tonight... (Field Notes, 1974.)

The dodge of "more information on it" is a frequently used excuse to put off decision on any subject which has clear divisive repercussions within the club. The Preschool scholarship idea was in fact never raised again.

If the dissenting individual (or individuals) is absent from the next meeting, the author of the suggestion may well bring it up again and the suggestion may be passed. The dissenter then has the option of simply absenting herself or himself from the course of action or of changing her or his view on the matter. People are felt to be "entitled to their opinions" and attempts are seldom made to change the opinions of others.

A would-be initiator of some action also has the option of suggesting the action in some other context. He or she can bring it up at another club, visit several clubs seeking contributions or volunteers, or form an informal ad hoc committee to accomplish the desired goals. Most rejected suggestions are not strongly disapproved of by others; rather they are simply deemed not important enough for the effort required to accomplish them.

When some sort of leadership is required, frequently two people will be co-organizers, or often the one chairperson will simply do all the work rather than attempt to direct the actions of others. The concept of leadership implies some power and control over others, some ability to make decisions about the goals one's group will pursue. Within this concept of leadership, officers in Quilcene's clubs in no way act as leaders. As noted earlier, they are the workhorses; but they most typically implement the decisions reached by the whole group by means of consensus. Being an officer requires large expenditures of time and effort and considerable emotional trauma because of the ambiguity of one's role. On the one hand, officers of organizations are reputed to be leaders, in control and responsible; on the other hand, people (including officers) should not direct and control others in voluntary association.* The result of this anomaly is that officers relinquish any power and retain all responsibility. Positions of leadership such as presidency or vice-presidency are filled by cajoling, pleading, and even misrepresentation of the duties of the office. Election of officers is almost always unanimous.

Voluntary associations perform a number of vital functions in the community, particularly in the areas of communication, education, health, welfare, recreation, organization, and community service and maintenance. In the absence of any governmental structure, a Lions Club member receives mail addressed to the Police Department, and a Community Club member gets the Mayor's mail.**

Women's groups are most evident in local-level political action. The following examples of important community actions by women in groups in 1973 indicate the part women's groups play in community-school interactions.

---

*Note the analogous situation of administrators in the school, discussed in Chapter 9.

**The ubiquity of the notion that formal political offices are held by men is reflected in her comment when asked if she received the mayor's mail: "Yeah, I'm the mayor's secretary."

1. In the spring the Brinnon Community Church's Ladies' Bible Study class acted as a group to lobby against a proposal that would have allowed smoking on the school grounds. The women wrote to the superintendent and then sent a contingent to the next board meeting to protest the issue. They made and won their point.

2. Before the excess levy that year members of the school board came before the Preschool PTA to explain the need for a levy and to ask for support. The women subsequently organized a Mothers' March for the levy. They also persuaded influential men to speak out in favor of the levy at a community meeting they had organized.

3. Second- and third-grade mothers organized a petition to prohibit the combining of those two grades and presented it successfully to the board.

4. Three Catholic women organized, and persuaded the county priest to come to Quilcene each week to celebrate Mass.

5. An informal group of concerned mothers researched and planned a playground to be built on a county park in the village and then presented the plan to the county commissioners. The playground was subsequently built as planned.

There is a pattern of women in groups taking a stand on issues or deciding a course of action and successfully carrying it through. Part of the pattern is the necessity to approach an essentially all-male establishment with their concerns. One important element in their high rate of success is that there are few routine public forums; women construct forums as needed. Although speeches are generally made by men, the women's groups usually choose the speakers. And those forums not constructed for specific purposes by the women's groups (e.g., the county commissioners and the school board meetings) are clearly amenable to manipulation by organized groups of women (see Chapter 17 for discussion of this phenomenon). Quilcene women in voluntary association form arenas for local-level political and social action, in contrast to the common stereotype that the prime function of women's groups is a setting for gossip.

Age-Grades

Another social structural principle by which people (particularly women) group is age-grade. Formal age-grading begins as early as three years of age and continues throughout schooling for everyone. For women, in their role as caretakers of children, age-grading maintains a more potent hold throughout life than it does for men. This principle also has important functions in maintaining and fostering a "generation gap."

Universal conscription into the public educational system at the age of six provides the cornerstone for age-grading. In Quilcene, parents can put their children in preschool at age three or four, and then in the public kindergarten at age five; but virtually all children begin first grade when they are six. From then on, the child remains with that class (barring important learning disabilities), proceeding through the grades. The commitment of Quilcene adults to "self-contained classrooms" is a manifestation of their commitment to strict age-grading. At age 12, in junior high school, a child's classes cease to be so rigidly self-contained; students go from room to room (and teacher to teacher), but nearly all classes are still composed of age-mates.

High school signals an important change: an apparent widening of the concept of age-grading. Although a core group of classes are required of all students of a particular age-grade, students may choose electives for some of their classes, and electives include students of other ages. However, congruent with the curricular relaxation of the age-grading principle is an increase in extracurricular emphasis on age-grading. Each of the four grades of high school has a cultural packet of tradition, activity, and lore associated with it, including expected behavior patterns, class organizations and officers, class functions, and class prerogatives. Each year's graduating class maintains some sense of its cohesion and reassembles at five- or ten-year intervals for class reunions.

However, age-grading patterns continue to exert a considerable influence on the association and friendship patterns of women because of their childcare responsibilities.* The life of a woman who has grown up in Quilcene flows naturally from her own age-graded history (or progress through the school system) to her status as the mother of a child of a given age-grade. Her 12 or 13 years in the public school system are usually immediately followed by pregnancy. Her child's birthday tells her who her children will attend school with, and she can foresee her child's entrance into the preschool "three-year-old group," then the "four-year-old group," and finally kindergarten at the proper age. Her child's entrance into school corresponds with her own eligibility for membership in Preschool Coop, then Preschool PTA, and so on, culminating in old age with membership in the Grandmothers' Club.

---

*See Salamon (1975) for similar patterns in Japan.

Women's status and the status of their children are intermingled. Women friends tend to be of the same age-grade and tend to have children at about the same time. Mothers of children in the same age-grade are thrown together in numerous situations, thus reinforcing the initial bonds between the women. The importance of motherhood in the categorization of women is reflected in the common practice of referring to women as "the mothers." The mothers are further subdivided into categories according to their children's age-grade affiliation (see Figure 5). The reality of the integration of the mothers in their children's age-grade is further reflected in women's common, somewhat humorous statements about having "graduated" out of preschool or into first grade (motherhood).*

Although "new mothers" have no organizational affiliation available to them on the basis of this status, they are the object of sympathy and concern by other mothers. Sharing the state of pregnancy and the experience of childbirth typically strengthens existing bonds between the mothers and sometimes creates new bonds based on common interests, concerns, problems, and experiences, as well as the knowledge that mothers of children of the same age-grade can look forward to continued shared experiences.

Coop mothers form a particularly cohesive group. The financial instability of the Cooperative Preschool requires the constant organization and execution of fund-raising projects. Mothers of three- and four-year-olds, burdened with sole responsibility for these active children, rely on other mothers for companionship, sympathy, and occasional relief from childcare. Women with children of unlike age are hesitant to trade childcare because caring for an older child is considered to be easier than caring for a younger one, and because children of unlike ages (and sexes) are not expected to play well together.

Kindergarten mothers formally associate with each other through the Preschool PTA and through their children's participation in the public school kindergarten. Kindergarten lasts only half a day, and kindergartners

---

*Radl (1973) discusses the pervasiveness of the school in the lives of American women from a rather different perspective.

The Mothers								
Preschool Mothers				First-Grade Mothers	Second-Grade Mothers	Third-Grade Mothers		Grandmothers
New Mothers	Three-year-old Mothers	Four-year-old Mothers	Kindergarten Mothers					

Figure 5. Taxonomy of "The Mothers"

are still sufficiently unmanageable to represent quite an expenditure of maternal energy on a daily basis. Childcare exchange among mothers remains very significant. The reliance on other preschool mothers for companionship, help, and support is outstanding and is related to expectations that children of like age play well together and misbehave in similar fashions, and that mothers of children of like age are familiar with and understand the behavior of children of that age. The expectation that people who are not around small children most of the time are impatient and intolerant of their actions is a common one, and serves to encourage communication and interaction among mothers of age-mates.

Although there is no formal PTA in Quilcene, there is a general recognition that mothers of children in a given grade belong together. They call themselves "first-grade mothers" and are referred to as such by school personnel and other community members. Mothers of children in a specific class are thrown together as chaperones on field trips, as "room mothers," as volunteers, and as audiences for class programs. The mothers perceive a commonality of interest and experience as they and their children deal with the same teacher, the same students, and the same learning environment.

The taxonomy presented in Figure 5 is rather static-looking, but the reality is one of process. Each mother is eligible for each group as her child progresses through the grades. Normally, then, there is considerable continuity of group membership, since each year the same group of mothers will change to the next age-grade, changing teacher and learning environment but maintaining the same group of students and mothers.

Clearly any one woman can view herself as a member of each age category in which she has children. In practice, women emphasize whichever membership seems most relevant at the time. At a Preschool PTA meeting a woman emphasizes her status as the mother of a preschooler (or, in local jargon, "a preschool mother"). Acting as a chaperone for her second-grader's science field trip, her identity as a preschool mother fades and her identity as a second-grade mother emerges.

All mothers have access to ties to other women through their children's age-grade. Most friendships and communication between Public Employees and Locals initially derive from commonalities in children's age-grade.*

---

*Friendships between loggers' wives and Forest Service wives, for instance, are usually rather private affairs. The public behavior of either is likely to offend the other (or her friends).

Mothers, thrown together as chaperones or room mothers, meet, discover common interests, and become friends. Their friendships in turn influence the bonds among their children.

Such friendships are significantly more likely to develop when the mothers are also close in age. Women often remark that they enjoy (or do not enjoy) a particular event because the other women are of the same age (or of different ages). Women expect to prefer the company of other women their own age. A new arrival in town is urged to join Quil Valley Homemakers Club by an age-mate: "You'll like it. All the women are about our age." Or her attendance at United Presbyterian Women is questioned: "Why do you go? Isn't it just a bunch of old ladies?" A 32-year-old worries about her friendship with a woman not quite 30 because she is "over the hill" and her friend is not. A 21-year-old comments disapprovingly of her friend of 34: "She must be awfully immature. She always picks much younger friends." Even the formal clubs, members of which ostensibly group for other reasons, are remarkably homogeneous in age.

There are patterned regularities in the life cycles of women that affect their ability to create or maintain close friendships with women of very different ages. The extensive interaction, communication, and mutual cooperation among the mothers of very young children has already been described. Small children (culturally) preclude women from full-time work, allowing easy access on a daily basis to other women with small children.

As the children mature and require less care at home, women begin to change their patterns of relationship. Public Employee women participate more fully in the formal organizations available; Local women nurture their friendships by drinking coffee together at the cafe or working together on some project. As children approach high school, women tend to seek employment. Though there are few jobs available to women in Quilcene, the majority of women with children in high school work at least part of the time. This is possible because of increased freedom from childcare responsibility for the women, and often necessary because of increased expenses with older children. As the children become adults and leave home (usually around 18) women either continue working, join the many clubs available to older women, or become active in the church, depending on financial necessity and personal preference.

The important role of the school as a foundation for and continuing social force encouraging age-grading among women suggests some important social structural ramifications of "education" that have not been properly attended to. The school serves to free women from constant childcare after their children reach six; it serves to foster bonds among women who attended school together and whose children attend school together; and it would seem to encourage the discontinuity between generations that is often noted in western cultures. Such functions are completely outside the realm usually attributed to "education," and yet such functions have a great influence on the lives of Quilcene women.

Kinship

Although all human beings are related to others by means of the biological links that form the basis for kinship systems, such links have more significance for some than for others. In Quilcene, although men are important links in the various kin networks that overlay community life, women are the crucial actors in nurturing and maintaining ties among kin. Women most typically arrange weddings, funerals, baby and bridal showers, family reunions, and holiday get-togethers. They write letters, extend invitations, and take care of "thank you" notes. They memorize the important relationships--both affinal and consanguineal--and keep track of births, deaths, and marriages among their kindred.*

American kinship in general revolves around the marital link (see Hsu, 1963; Schneider, 1965, 1968), and Quilcene residents universally agree that the marriage bond has primacy over all other adult relationships. The marriage ceremony includes marital vows to "forsake all others," and those words are interpreted to include parents and other relatives as well as friends and lovers. Fathers "give away" the bride in formal recognition of this break. In disagreements among in-laws, spouses are expected and urged to side with each other against members of their natal families. Almost all Quilcene couples live neolocally (i.e., they form a new and separate household) from the beginning of marriage, though Local couples often reside next door to one or the other's parents. Most Public Employee couples live far from their natal families.

---

*Yanagisako (1976) has an excellent discussion of a parallel pattern in an urban Japanese-American community.

Schneider's account of American kinship (1968) focuses on sexual intercourse, or conjugal solidarity, as the primary metaphor of American kinship. Such certainly seems to be the case in Quilcene, where women speak of love, marriage, and sexuality as an indivisible trinity. One young divorcee who had married because of pregnancy says,

> John and I made love when I was 16. I knew then, that very night, that I was going to marry him. There was no question about it. I knew I would only go to bed with the guy I was going to marry. So I had to marry him, and I did. (Field Notes, 1976.)

The actual instability of this triad is indicated by a high divorce rate, much marital infidelity, and unplanned premarital pregnancy.*

Marriage is billed as an institution in which "one lives happily ever after." Neolocal residence emphasizes the commitment of spouses to each other, as does the widespread "ideology of the independence of the nuclear family" (Yanagisako, 1976). Young people are advised that "your husband (or wife) comes first." Homemakers' programs dwell on the marital link as the adult relationship most suitable for (or most in need of) discussion. People, particularly women, are urged to eschew, or at least minimize, any relationships or actions that interfere with harmony in marriage.

A strict division of labor between the sexes is widely observed. According to this ideal, men are the breadwinners and women are the homemakers. In practice, although the vast majority of men are the primary breadwinners, many women engage in a variety of part-time and seasonal wage labor as well as informal economic endeavors like canning, gardening, or collecting wild edibles. Women encroach on men's domain somewhat in practice, but it is far rarer for men to invade women's domain. Women who work continue their household and childcare responsibility, with little or no help from their husbands in most cases.

---

*No attempt has been made to measure marital infidelity in this study, but the frequency of divorce is clear from a comparison of divorces and marriages (as registered in the county courthouse) in Quilcene and Brinnon. In 1974 there were 7 divorces and 18 marriages, and in 1975 there were 17 divorces and 16 marriages. Carol undertook a small survey (n=25) on family planning practices, and over half the Local women had married at least once because of pregnancy. Ethnographic data suggest that the actual percentage is considerably higher.

Peer reaction to encroachment on the "wrong" domain is rather different for men and women. Women encourage each other to engage in part-time wage labor if it is available, and envy the ones who are able to find such work. Men who help with childcare and household duties are subject to merciless attacks on their manhood.

There is an ambivalence in the marital relationship regarding the proper relations between men and women. On one hand, a case can be made for equality between marriage partners. According to this folk model, men and women have distinct but somewhat equivalent spheres of operation. Women's greater knowledge of household maintenance, cooking, childcare, and other domains deemed female is accepted with ease by men, and women see the superior grasp men have over logging, working with machinery, or working in a bureaucracy. From time to time, Quilcene men and women both speak of the complementarity of their marital roles.

On the other hand, in a strictly economic sense, there is a severe imbalance in favor of men. Men can support themselves alone quite easily, whereas women (particularly with young children) usually cannot. In Quilcene, a man without a woman does just fine, but a woman without a man is often in dire straits. One woman who married at age 15 because of pregnancy says:

> "I'm really lucky. My husband works. I could have had to marry a man who wouldn't work. And I couldn't go out and work. What could I do?" (Field Notes, 1975.)

There is nothing she could do that would provide a reasonable income. Women are extremely aware of their almost total economic dependence on their husbands. Another woman follows the authoritarian decrees of her husband precisely, though complaining to other women of his excesses, because by so doing she can have material comforts she would forfeit without such compliance. And should a woman forget her economic dependence, she need only look at the terrible financial situation of a third woman, whose husband left her and three preschool children for another woman, to remember her dependent status.* Such asymmetrical dependence alters the potential for equality inherent in the ideal picture of the marital relationsip.

---

*Bernard reports a study of 600 suburban housewives with family incomes between $6,000 and $10,000, which showed that two-thirds of the women viewed men as breadwinners first, as fathers second, and as husbands third (1972:76).

Although both Public Employee and Local marriages display a commitment to the primacy of the husband in most decision-making, there are significant differences in the ways such decision-making is accomplished. Public Employees spend more time with their spouses than do Locals and are influenced by what Bernard has called the "companionate" view of marriage (1972:191). Although both parties to the marriage agree that the husband should be dominant, the wife is accorded some decision-making functions so long as she does not encroach on the husband's prerogatives. These couples are likely to "talk a good egalitarian game" (1972:142), but important decision-making still remains in the hands of the husband (e.g., applying for a transfer, moving, where to go on vacations). Direct use of power by the husband or covert use of power by the wife is less likely than among Locals, but Public Employee wives appear to acquiesce to their husbands' wishes as often as Local wives. Divorce is rarer among Public Employees,* and extra-marital affairs are conducted with greater secrecy. The cultural legitimacy of male power, the Public Employee respect for and obedience to authority, and the "polite" style which characterizes Public Employee interaction are evident in their homes as well as their work settings.

In Local marriages the use of male power is more clearcut. Husbands readily order their wives around, sending them out for a pack of cigarettes, yelling for a cup of coffee, insisting they keep the children quiet, and so on. But Local men and women are not together a great deal. The separation of the sexes in everyday life is a striking feature of Local marriages. Although the ideals associated with Middle Eastern marriages and Local marriages are hardly congruent, the behavior of men and women in relation to one another is not so far removed. Rosaldo (1974) notes that:

> To the extent that men live apart from women, they of course cannot control them and women may be able to form informal groups of their own.

She goes on to note an ethnographic example that conforms to many Quilcene marriages:

> In parts of the Arab world (Fernea, 1965) women interact mostly with women, and men with men; wives meet their husbands briefly when serving dinner and occasionally for a few hours

---

*In Carol's small survey, 54% of the Locals had been divorced at least once (15% had been divorced twice), but no Public Employee had been divorced.

> in bed. Interaction is highly structured and limited, subject to the mood of the man (1974:27).

Salamon notes a similar pattern in Japan: "Men are for the most part absent from the daily world of married middle-class women in Japan" (1975: 165).

When one compares the marital link with the variety of bonds between women, one sees that Local women receive much more of their emotional support, closeness, and security from other women than from their husbands. Women work together, trade or give foodstuffs, care for each other's children, and generally provide each other with daily companionship. This pattern is not shared by urban American women, who are more isolated from one another than are men (see Murphy and Murphy, 1974, for a discussion of this pattern).

Men and women, as husbands and wives, frequently have only the sexual tie beyond their economic obligations to one another. Marriage has been characterized in most societies as a contract dealing with economic and reproductive matters. In Quilcene, that same contract is clearly visible overlaying the ideal of romantic love that provides the basic ingredient or excuse for a marriage, with men in charge of the economic and women in charge of the reproductive domains.

To return to the segregation of the sexes, when men are absent, women are free to do as they please. Women who are most interested in controlling their own behavior maximize their day-to-day separation from their husbands. For instance, women's organized activities coincide with the school year.* Organized activities require that a woman be out of the house, out in the community. It is during the school year that a Local man is most likely to be at home, interfering with the autonomy of his wife. The woods are inaccessible most winters. In the summer, all organized female activity comes to an abrupt halt with the end of school, and most men work from dawn until dusk from late spring until early fall. Women whose husbands face imminent retirement consistently express distress and apprehension about the new life style. They state matter-of-factly that their husbands' presence will severely limit their own freedom and autonomy.

---

*The meetings of _all_ women's organizations follow the school calendar. No meetings are held during vacations or days when school is not in session.

Paradoxically, Public Employee women, with the egalitarian overlay to their marriage, probably have less freedom than do Local women whose husbands are blatantly dictatorial. Whereas Public Employee couples strive for companionship and veil the power and authority of the husband, Local couples make clear use of male power and authority, but accommodate to it by limiting interaction and by covert use of power by wives.*

Just as occupational affiliation is a vital part of many men's definition of their own sexuality, so kinship affiliation is a vital part of most women's sexual identification. Being a woman and being a wife and mother are closely related concepts in Quilcene. A subordinate role in marriage and responsibility for children are culturally defined as outcomes of women's "nature." Women are reputed to be "naturally" tender, gentle, patient, emotional, and warm,** and to possess a wide range of traits that suit them for childcare and marital subservience. Women's "job" involves primarily the monitoring and nurturance of human relationships.

As the primary actors in "women-centered kin networks" (Yanagisako, 1976) women serve as communication links among related people. They maintain their nuclear families' access to the members of their kindred. They concern themselves with marriage, birth, fidelity, and death. And when husbands want to tap the resources available to most people through kinship, they utilize those ties maintained by their wives, sisters, mothers, and daughters. Just as in the urban, bilateral Japanese-American kinship system described by Yanagisako, women visit, telephone, and correspond with their close female relatives regularly, and readily come to (and request) each other's aid in times of need.

---

*The Murphys (1974) document a rather similar situation among the Mundurucu of Brazil. In the traditional setting, where male dominance was overt and obvious, women had access to close ties with other women; but in the transitional setting, where the marital link took on new significance, women were without the traditional support of other women and suffered for it. Salamon (1975) compares Japanese and German women in groups, and finds that where Japanese women maintain close, intimate ties with their age-mates and minimize interaction with their husbands, German women follow a pattern more closely resembling the Public Employee lifeway and suffer from severe feelings of isolation.

**See Pierce (1971) for an entertaining but convincing philosophical rebuttal to this series of cultural beliefs.

Chapter 5 has considered the major social structural principles that affect women's lives in Quilcene: the Public Employee/Local split as it is manifested in voluntary associations; the existence and effects of age-grading; and kinship as a primary element in the responsibilities of women. We have called these "cohesive divisions" because of their cross-cutting nature. That is, age-grading can serve to legitimize friendships across the occupational split, as can kinship. Common participation in a voluntary association likewise can serve as a basis for friendship between unrelated people of different age-grades and different occupations. The availability of these different means for dividing up the human world of Quilcene means that individuals are categorized with different sets of people at different times. In order to adequately describe the nature of these principles by which Quilcene people categorize themselves it has been necessary to concentrate on the differences; but those same differences, taken as a whole, serve to bind the community together since any one person can be seen as a participant in an occupational affiliation, an age-grade, a kin network, and usually some voluntary associations.* Clearly each of these categories involves potential participation with different sets of people, and the overlap serves as "social glue."

---

*Maruyama (1977) has an interesting observation of relevance to such differences. The traditional epistemology assumed that homogeneity is the base of peace and heterogeneity is a source of conflict. A new epistemology based on biological data considers the opposite: homogeneity is likely to be a source of competition and conflict, while heterogeneity reduces conflict and enables symbiotization, rise of sophistication, and other forms of enrichment. Once this is understood, heterogeneity is no longer regarded as a deviation from the average, error, or necessary evil, but becomes a positive basis of biological and social processes. This applies to individual heterogeneity (intra-group) as well.

CHAPTER 6: FEMALE AND MALE

Ever present in our discussion of the Quilcene community is a sharp differentiation between the lives of women and the lives of men. Women typically keep house, bear and care for children. Men typically work for the family's income. Although most women work outside the home at some point in their lives, such work is taken on in addition to the duties that are seen as their primary responsibilities: marriage and the family. The primary responsibilities of men are in the world of work. Since these responsibilities, differing according to sex, are most often fulfilled in different places, men and women (especially husbands and wives) do not spend much time in each other's company.

In order to portray typical differences between the lives of women and the lives of men, we present two portraits or time-slices, one for each sex. Although our prototypical woman, Janie, is married to a Forest Service employee, her days are very similar to those of all Quilcene women who care for small children. When we expressed our interest in women's lives to a Local woman, she said, "But don't women do pretty much the same thing everywhere?" There are certainly important commonalities that derive from women's traditional responsibility for childcare and home management, though women's lives show significant changes as they proceed through their own and their children's age-grades.

The possibility of generalizing from Janie's day to other women's days derives from their common participation in the same kinds of work. Correspondingly, Chet's day is less generalizable to other men's days. But data on the Forest Service and logging (see Chapter 3) should provide sufficient understanding of the kinds of differences that characterize men's work environments. Our purpose here is to contrast Chet's day with Janie's, to illustrate the very important differences between the affairs of men and the affairs of women.

Portrayal of the differences between the lives of men and women is also worthwhile as a backdrop for our discussion of the school in Part II. Quilcene School is coeducational; boys and girls share classrooms and recesses, teachers and books. A sense of the realities of Quilcene adult life is important in understanding and evaluating the role of the school as an institution of enculturation. Whereas many aspects of school life suggest an equivalence between boys and girls as students, other elements prepare students for and reinforce the kinds of sexual segregation and sex-role stereotyping that characterize adult life in Quilcene.

Janie

Janie came slowly awake, aware simultaneously of the baby's insistent cries beginning in the next room and the dreary gray filtering through the thin curtains. The sounds of drizzle on the roof told her winter was still very much here. She lay for a minute or two, wishing the baby would go back to sleep, but a quick glance at the alarm clock stilled that hope. It would ring at 6:30 anyway. She turned off the alarm before it rang and stumbled into the baby's room to quell the noise. Johnny, her three-year-old, padded out to greet her just as she was pinning Susie's diapers. She knew her day had fully begun and that she had better hurry and put her contact lenses in if she hoped to get through the next hour. Her stint in the bathroom was accompanied by tugging on her nightgown and cries of "I'm hungry." The noises of the baby and the toddler awoke her eldest daughter. Jim, her husband, entered the bathroom as she left leading the hungry children in the direction of the kitchen. The children sat at their usual places at the table and the two older ones called out what they wanted for breakfast. Janie put the baby in the infant seat and thought how tired she felt. She wondered to herself which was easier, making them what they each wanted, or listening to them complain about cereal? She decided listening was easier this morning, gave the two older ones cereal and began preparing the baby's gruel amidst the noise of quarrelsome children. Jim arrived half-dressed from the bathroom and loudly called for silence. The noise subsided somewhat and Jim sat down with the children. Janie gave him some cereal, feeling guilty as he looked at her reproachfully. He'd had cereal three days in a row. She went on feeding the baby, getting up frequently to serve the other three. It was a delicate business juggling her responsibilities. Jim had to get to work before Mary, their daughter, had to go to school. But the two youngest were the most demanding.

As she fed the baby and tried simultaneously to answer Jim's needs (made pressing because of his need to get to work on time), she also tried to nudge Mary into getting dressed for school. Mary got up to begin choosing her clothes and Jim was almost ready to go, when the baby threw her cereal on little Johnny. Janie had intended to make Jim's lunch today but told him she wouldn't be able to, that he'd have to come home for lunch as he'd be late for work if she made his lunch now. He agreed readily enough and gratefully left the house for work. It was now almost 7:30, and Mary's bus would come in half an hour. Janie called instructions to Mary, hurried her along verbally, and vetoed her desire to bring the guinea pig to school. Meanwhile she began cleaning up Johnny, feeding spoonfuls of cereal to the baby whenever the opportunity arose.

When she'd cleaned up most of Johnny's mess and Susie was temporarily satisfied, Janie turned her attention to finishing Mary's preparations for school. Mary needed her shoes tied, couldn't find her coat, and hadn't been able to zip her dress up. When Janie kissed Mary goodbye and gently pushed her out the door, she was vaguely uneasy about what Johnny had been doing. But she found him sitting peacefully talking to his little sister at the table. It was eight o'clock and Johnny didn't have to be at preschool until 9:30. Time for some coffee.

She sat down near her two remaining children and relaxed for a moment. Mornings were always hectic. Pretty soon she'd have to finish dressing herself and the two little ones, but for a few minutes she could sit relatively quietly and plan her day. She decided to go visit another mother while Johnny was in preschool, maybe that new woman who'd just moved in.

Janie nudged herself into action, dressed the children and herself, packed diapers, rubber pants, bottle, and blankets for the baby, put on coats, and hustled the children into the car. She'd intended to time her arrival at the preschool when the other mothers were arriving with their children, in order to catch the new woman; but only Jackie remained when Janie got there, and Janie knew she and Jackie had little to visit about: Jackie's husband was a logger and Janie's worked for the Forest Service. After dropping Johnny off, Janie went to the Post Office to pick up the mail, hoping to run into someone there. The new woman, Jeanine, had just gotten her mail and Janie invited her home for a cup of coffee. Janie was relieved when Jeanine pointed out that her house was closer and invited Janie to come there. Janie hadn't had time to straighten up the living room.

They spent a pleasant hour discussing the hardships of moving, of leaving old friends, of getting established in a cliqueish small town. They hashed over the merits and demerits of the local school system and gave each other truncated versions of their own educational and life histories. And then it was time to pick up the preschoolers.

Janie took Johnny and Susie home and began fixing lunch for them all. Since Jim would be home, she'd have to make a more presentable meal. Peanut butter and jelly sandwiches would be insufficient. And the baby was hungry again. She'd have to wait. Jim only had half an hour.

Lunch was about ready when Jim came in. Janie greeted him and asked him if he would begin feeding the baby while she finished lunch. He happily picked up Susie and began telling Janie about his morning. She tried to shush Johnny whenever he interrupted his father's monologue, but wasn't entirely successful.

They ate together, Janie trying vainly to orchestrate the conversations so she could devote her attention to the speaker. Jim left, the children were fed, and she could do the dishes. When Johnny started manhandling Susie she decided to put them down for their naps. Johnny was tired and fell asleep quickly. Janie fed Susie a bottle, hoping fervently that she would drop off to sleep rather than screaming as she'd done yesterday. In a few short minutes Janie could hear the soft, regular breathing of a sleeping child. It was now almost two o'clock. A whole hour until Mary got home. Janie hoped no one would call her and wake up the children. She thought about taking the phone off the hook but remembered they were on a party line here. She so savored their nap time. She could read or work on her sewing projects--the time was hers. Indeed, she thought ruefully, it was the only time that was hers. She decided to read a mystery she'd started the previous week.

The hour of peace refreshed her and she greeted Mary at 3:00 with a welcoming smile. There were a few moments alone with Mary, talking about school and an Easter party her class was planning and then the little ones woke up. Janie got the baby up and told Johnny he could get up.

It was still raining that dreary winter drizzle so she didn't send them outside. As she got out the Leg-O's for Johnny and the doll dishes for Mary, she thought wistfully of her own childhood east of the mountains where the sun shone all winter long. She didn't feel like being arbitrator today--let them play separately. She changed the baby for the fifth time and set her on the infant seat to watch her older siblings.

Janie turned her mind to fixing dinner. She wanted to fix something nice for Jim tonight. No special reason--maybe because he'd fed the baby so readily at noon or because of his enthusiasm about his work this morning. She hadn't thought to thaw anything special but she could make that tuna ring he liked so well and have chocolate pie for dessert. She began making the dinner, with only occasional interruptions from the children. Things were going smoothly. The two older children weren't fighting, the baby wasn't crying. She rather enjoyed fixing a good dinner--and eating it too, she thought, thinking of her round hips with some dismay. She was still overweight from her last pregnancy.

Shortly after 5:00 Jim came in and kissed her on the back of the neck, commenting favorably on the smell emanating from the oven. She had barely had time to straighten up the house a bit. The children were getting hungry and cranky. Five o'clock is always a bad time, they say, thought Janie, as she tried to urge patience on her offspring. Jim was tired, too. He poured himself a drink and stretched out on an easy chair. Janie bustled around setting the table and finishing up the meal preparations.

She sat down to eat with a feeling of relief. Dinner was made, Jim was home, and the children's bedtime was not far off. The food tasted good and she only had to get up twice to refill milk and wipe up a mess. Johnny and Mary, in accordance with custom, argued throughout the meal and Jim contributed an occasional irritated call for quiet. Janie was able to enjoy her own meal, alternating between feeding herself and feeding the baby.

After dinner, Jim held the baby while she cleared the dishes. He called to her that the baby was wet (or worse) so she took the baby, changed her, and prepared her for bed. The rest of the family had settled down in front of the TV.

Janie wondered to herself whether to give the baby her bottle or try to finish clearing the dishes first, finally settling on putting the baby to bed. She got the milk into the bottle and settled down in her rocking chair. This was a time when she could sit undisturbed. Everyone knew she was feeding the baby and that they'd have to look after themselves. She let her muscles relax and her mind wander as she sat cradling her infant daughter. This was often a peaceful part of the day and she enjoyed it to the fullest.

When the baby had finished drinking, Janie reluctantly got up and put her to bed, looking lovingly at the sleeping face. The other two children remained.

Putting Johnny to bed would be more difficult. It was a little after 7:00 when she began getting him into his pajamas. He was old enough and smart enough to be adept at avoiding bedtime. A half hour later she had him in bed with his glass of water and his teddy bear and his song sung. Mary was supposed to go to bed at 8:00 and Jim had already gotten her started. Janie tossed him a grateful look as he pushed Mary toward her, decked out in her favorite nightgown. She had only to read her a story. Janie and Mary went to Mary's room together. Mary shared her room with Susie, but Janie hoped she wouldn't have to for long. She thought how important it is for children to have a room of their own.

After the story and tucking Mary in, Janie returned to the living room, ready to talk about her day and listen to Jim's account of his. But Jim was already engrossed in the eight o'clock movie. It didn't interest her and she engaged in a moment or two of self-pity before turning to the bills. At least she'd be able to do them in peace. As a final precaution she made some coffee and gave Jim a cup to forestall a later request.

She was tired when she finished the bills about 10:00 and went to bed, kissing Jim on the forehead in passing. She put on her nightie, took out her contacts and climbed longingly into the comfort of the warm bed. The house was always a little cold and damp in the winter so the bed was especially welcome. She snuggled down under the covers, waiting for her body to warm the sheets. It felt good to relax all her muscles. She soon fell asleep and was only awakened by the baby once in the night.

Chet

Bzzzzzztunk.

Chet lay sprawled half out of bed with his hand resting on the alarm clock he'd thunked to a stop. He wished it were worth the bother to buy another alarm clock. How he hated that damn buzz.

Down at the breakfast counter, he sat on a stool, and watched the morning brighten. Sunlight slanting through the trees gave a slightly golden mottle to the lush fern and bracken undergrowth. The dampness of the near rain forest permeated the house and lent a peculiarly pleasant chill to the spring morning. He didn't even notice Tina until she snuggled under his arm from the adjoining stool. She pushed her little nose against his chest and sighed. He held her close, and just pointed to the view through the window. She asked the inevitable question.

"Daddy, how long before I go to school?"

"Two hours, honey," he answered.

Tim and Toby tumbled down the stairs followed by a sleepy and languid Teresa. She fixed breakfast while he orchestrated the kids' morning preparations for school. Teresa fixed a double lunch as he would not be home until late in the evening. He left before the kids had finished breakfast.

At the laboratory, he had a desk of paperwork. One report to finish and give to the typist, one report to read, and a pile of the most useless and time-consuming forms to fill out, sign, or throw away that he'd ever seen. He couldn't believe he actually was to sit there all through this gorgeous morning cranking out more paperwork to feed that hungry machine in Olympia, but that was precisely what he did. Hour after hour, the hands of the clock mocking his impatience, he struggled through the bureaucratic drivel. When he walked into the coffee room for a break, the incredible blue of Dabob Bay under a morning sun was a physical pain in his side, a torture to behold. Goddamn, he hated paperwork! At his desk it took all of his concentrative power to keep his mind from the afternoon's work--work he loved, work he was good at, work for a man. He hurried through another report, knowing he could not afford to miss the tide.

Lunch was a sandwich with the two divers as they drove up 101 in the state pickup. Chet felt good--free of the office and its constraints, free to laugh or be morose as he chose, free to think over the afternoon plan. He had been studying the shellfish in these waters for ten years and today was an attempt to make some of that study pay off. He had chosen the areas to search carefully, applying all that he had learned about bottom characteristics and the specific breed of clam in question. They would try to locate heretofore unknown clam beds in an attempt to increase the number of clams available for commercial exploitation. If he was successful, the relatively small amount of tax money invested in his time and effort would result in thousands of dollars of business as well as another supply of food in an increasingly hungry world. He sat with his arm out the open window and watched the Olympic Peninsula roll by. This afternoon's work was not a particularly important part of his job, much of which involved laboratory testing, ecological surveys, and attempts to raise certain kinds of shellfish for aquacultural futures, but it was a part of work he really enjoyed.

They parked the pickup and walked down the dock to the Fisheries boat loaded down with scuba gear, charts, lunches, and associated paraphernalia. Aboard the boat he performed the tasks assigned him by the official boat-handler efficiently and easily. The twin engines rumbled in the launch's guts and responded to the expert helmsmanship of the tall young man in command. Out through the harbor entrance past the breakwater, the long easy swells of the Strait of Juan de Fuca lifted the white bows in exhilarating rhythm.

Chet briefly outlined the afternoon plans to the other two. Chet and the helmsman would dive while the third man kept the launch in position. They would dive in three areas and would search those areas as best they could. The helmsman nodded and brought the launch around on an easterly course.

The new direction put the launch into a figure eight roll as she took successive swells on her port quarter. Gulls wheeled and screamed over the ever increasing expanse of tidal flats ashore. Out in the Strait a big ketch with all canvas set made a lovely picture as she dipped her bowsprit into an occasional swell. A container ship swept silently up the commercial traffic channel heading for Japan. Long streamers of wind-blown snow drifted off Hurricane Ridge far up in the Olympics. The three men rolled easily with the launch and when they occasionally caught one another's eye they couldn't stifle the grins. All thoughts of paperwork and reports were thrust aside before the urgency of the task at hand. The ever present dangers of diving gave a spice to the job, a thrill to the sunny afternoon.

The third diver took the helm. Chet and the second diver took off clothes and struggled into wetsuits. Rolling with the launch, the silent figures transformed themselves from ordinary humans to black and red clad figures of the night, rubbery lumbering things with enormous feet and bulging faces peering through black framed glass. As the weight belts went on, these two changed their response to the roll of the vessel. Spread legged now, they were out of their element, unbalanced and misclad in a hostile world which would heave them against a bulkhead or bulwark at a moment's forgetfulness. The huge tanks hunched their backs and threatened to throw them unceremoniously over the side.

Again the motion shifted as the third diver brought the launch into the swells in line with the markers chosen over the first search area. Chet rolled his way aft to the diver's platform and swung his huge flippers over the transom. The engines died in a gurgle of protesting exhaust. Silence enveloped him like a palpable thing, but was broken by the other diver's splash into the icy waters. He turned and let himself fall backward. The intense cold hit him like a fist and when he had surfaced, holding to the diver platform, he couldn't stop the gasp. He waited for the heat of his body to warm the water now captured inside his suit. He looked at his diving partner beside him.

"Shrivel my manhood!"

They adjusted their masks and regulators and went down. Suddenly the green and white launch was alone on the water and only the trail of quietly exploding air bubbles marked the presence of those silent searchers in the deep.

There is a peculiar kind of hollow silence under water, broken by the tiny sounds of underwater life. He drifted down and down, his partner beside him releasing a long stream of white exhaust bubbles. As his vision took in the bottom he could barely contain a yelp. Siphons, siphons everywhere. Clams. Suffering Christ, look at the siphons! They swam along the extensive clam bed in quiet triumph, giving each other occasional thumbs up. It was a big bed. At an average of one and one-half to two pounds each these clams would feed a lot of people. They surfaced and waited for the launch to pick them up. The sun felt hot on his face and the intense feeling of satisfaction inside was a very fine sensation.

Three dives, three finds. Chet sat on the bow of the launch heading for shore and actually reveled in his triumph. His body soaked up the sunshine like a sponge, eating all the heat it could get. Every muscle was tired, all the heat seemed gone from his body. He estimated three million pounds of food in those beds. The initial evidence concerning commercial clamming indicated that it did not deplete the stocks appreciably at all, that beds commercially harvested kept producing nevertheless. Three million pounds of food. Not a bad day's work at all.

He stopped at the little store near the mouth of Dabob Bay on the way home from the laboratory to buy a beer. He nursed it on the way over Walker Mountain as the evening shadows softened and changed the colors along the highway. By the time he reached Quilcene he was ready for another so he stopped to buy a six-pack to take home. He walked into the Village Store and stood waiting to pay for his beer. The logger in front of him wore a baggy blue chambray shirt and bright red suspenders. He was grimy from a hard day's work in the woods and red-eyed from lack of sleep, a sharp contrast to Chet's fresh-from-a-swim look.

"And what in hell did you do today that you need a beer when you get home?"

"Oh, I found some clams."

"Jesus Christ," muttered the logger meaningfully. "I found some clams last weekend, too, but ain't nobody paying me for it."

Chet parked the car in the driveway and realized that he could no longer put off mowing the lawn which was now high enough for the neighbors to gossip about. He sipped on a beer and watched Tina and Toby playing croquet in the evening sun. Walking to the house he could feel the weariness of heat-sapped muscles and wished he didn't have to mow the lawn.

Teresa told him that the toilet wasn't flushing well, probably a jammed septic tank, and that the light in the guest room didn't work. He put his lunch pail on the counter, the rest of the beer in the refrigerator, and wandered out to the garage to crank up the lawn mower.

The light took a few minutes time. The toilet gave every indication of a full septic tank, and the lawn mower did not run well. In the late evening the kids complained about going to bed. There was a good basketball game on Channel 4 but it didn't come in well so he gave up watching it. Around 9:30 he realized he had forgotten to do a report that the Olympia office required and decided he could see no way of putting it off. That meant the entire day tomorrow would be at a desk.

He ate a snack about 10:30 and Teresa was already in bed when he got there. She snuggled next to him and he was nearly off to sleep when she asked about his day's work.

"Oh, I found some clams," he said.

"That's nice," she murmured.

He lay awake for a long time, unable to sleep.

It is not atypical that Janie's day (and life) is so closely tied to the activities of children. In Quilcene, as elsewhere in America, Janie will continue to be constrained by child raising demands for the next 20 years of her life. Conversely, as Chet moves higher in the bureaucratic setting, he will be tied more and more to the report writing desk work he so abhors. It is an inevitable part of his work-a-day world.

The children in both families, as children do the world over, learn by example. The messages they receive are clear and compelling. Women raise children. Men go "to work." But watch, sometime, a mixed group of children playing "house." The little girls know just what to do, just what is expected of them. They bustle about caring for their dolls, cleaning house, doing laundry, fixing dinner. But what of the little boys? They (in their play) leave the "house" to go "to work." Typically, the little boy goes off and sits somewhere, shuffling leaves or some other aimless activity, until it is time to again interact within the home setting. He knows his role there. He has seen it happen. But it is a part of life only. Of the rest of the world of adult males, he knows little or nothing. He simply does not know, in the precise way a little girl knows, what his role--with specific behaviors--is likely to be.

In Sum

The kinds of community characteristics that we have discussed in Part Two are important to bear in mind when interpreting the characteristics of the school as presented in Part Three. The school is supposed to be subject to community control, it is supposed to prepare students for participation in adult life. Many studies have documented the lack of success that results when schools manifest values and culture patterns markedly different from those in the student's home environment.* A case can easily be made that school systems should replicate and reinforce community values.

On the other hand, schools are expected to anticipate social change, to prepare students for a world that has not yet emerged--the world of the students' adulthood. To take one example, the changes now occurring in women's life chances because of birth control technology suggest that women will be increasingly involved in activities outside the home, in the world of work. With women no longer subject to reproductive caprice, very different kinds of enculturation (for both sexes) become possible. An ongoing problem for both the school and the community is the resolution of the proper balance between present values and likely future social directions.

---

*See particularly the extensive literature on Amerindian education and colonial education (e.g., Goodenough, 1963; Wax & Wax, 1971).

PART II

AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE SCHOOL

Part I presented an ethnographic description of the community setting in which the schools operate; Part II offers a parallel description of the schools. In Chapter 7 ("A School Develops") we present a history of the Quilcene Schools from 1877 through 1972. Chapter 8, ("Concepts, Constructs, and World View"), discusses our overall approach to the school and to individual learning, laying down a brief theoretical groundwork to explain our choice of data and our interpretations of events.

Chapter 9, ("Adults in Control"), begins with a description of the formal adult link between community and school: the school board. It then discusses the administrative structure of the school and the school as an adult work setting. We attribute more significance to the adult work setting than is typical in educational research because we think that schools serve a prototype of the working world for students. Ensconced in schools for about 12 years, students have little access to other work settings; and we believe that they observe the patterns of behavior that characterize teachers, administrators, and staff members and incorporate them into their cognitive systems as part of the reality of the working world. The systems of categorization and the patterned inequities are therefore significant as part of students' enculturation processes.

Chapter 10 ("Kids in Classrooms"), describes the commonalities among classrooms, seeking important, recurrent themes like age-grading, sex-role stereotyping, time as a structuring device, equity, and oscillation between authoritarianism and egalitarianism and between cooperation and competition.

In Chapter 11 ("Extracurricular Activities"), after a general introduction to the kinds of extracurricular activities available to students, we focus on sports. Sports events are extremely significant in Quilcene; they perform a variety of functions for individuals, for the community, and as symbolic dramatization.

The previous numbered page in the original document was blank.

CHAPTER 7: A SCHOOL DEVELOPS

This chapter begins with a history of Quilcene and Brinnon schools, since their inceptions in the third quarter of the 19th century. The next three sections, "Administrative Structure," "Curriculum, Facilities, and Personnel," and "The Students," provide general baseline information on the schools' history, just prior to the introduction of the federally funded Experimental Schools project.

"Community Attitudes Toward the Schools" is an account of the prevailing attitudes (and attitudes reconstructed from the recent past) in 1972-73, written in 1973. Some of the conflicting ideas about schooling and education are interesting in light of our (subsequent) symbolic analysis as presented in Chapter 4, particularly "School as Battleground."

Early History of the Schools

In 1877, School District No. 5, running from Leland, near Discovery Bay, all the way to the Duckabush River--a distance of some 25 miles over very rough terrain--was formed. It is no surprise, then, that in 1879, when there were 30 school-age children listed in that district, only five were enrolled in school and only four were attending it (Jefferson County Superintendent of Schools, 1880). There were 28 voters in the district that year. The first school board had been established; its elected members were John Such, James Donavon, Sam Cottle and Hampden Cottle. The district had a school building valued at $100 and equipment valued at $16. There was one male teacher whose salary was $25 per month.

In January of 1881, Virginia Hancock became Superintendent of Schools for the county. Two weeks later she received a petition from several families along the Duckabush and Dosewallips Rivers for a school to be established there, pointing out that they had 18 school-age children in the community and that it was a long way over Walker Mountain to Quilcene, a sentiment still held today by many parents in Brinnon.

In 1881 there were 18 school age children in the Brinnon area, so a petition was drawn and sent to the new Superintendent of Schools for Jefferson County. School District No.6 was formed that year and a woman teacher assigned. When Hancock visited the two southern districts in the

The previous numbered page in the original document was blank.

spring of that year, she noted that the Quilcene teacher did not have "good government" in her school, though the school board seemed satisfied with her work (ibid.). It is apparent from this that in 1881 there was still only one teacher, and the position was held by a woman.

The Leland Valley School District, No. 7, was formed in 1883. In the fall of that year, there were 27 children in District No. 5 (Quilcene), 20 in No. 6 (Brinnon) and 13 in No. 7 (Leland) (ibid.). L. D. McArdle became the teacher in Quilcene in 1883, teaching in a log cabin school near the Little Quilcene River. He started a dance school for both young and old residents.

In 1883, the Superintendent reported in her records that attendance and punctuality were both very poor in Quilcene. The blame for this situation was placed squarely on the shoulders of local parents, who were not cooperating with the spirit of education. The little log schoolhouse on W. J. Worthington's property was dark and not conducive to study. The community was in need of a new building and was finally moved to replace the old one after a flood washed it away.

The new school building was built in 1887 just north of the present Bert Kruse property, also on the Little Quilcene River. It was erected at a cost of $1,200 and was a T-shaped structure, with a dance floor (Port Townsend Weekly Leader, February 13, 1890). McArdle was still teaching* and was reported in the Superintendent's General Record (Jefferson County Superintendent of Schools: 1887) as keeping good order and having the respect of his students (three girls and two boys). The district was involved in a dispute with District No. 7 over monies allocated from the county for some students who had moved from one district to the other. While monies were allocated from the county on the basis of how many children were in the district, it is not clear if, in fact, these students were even attending school. Nevertheless, it had been necessary to raise extra monies, and the Leader reported on February 13 that "...the district is providing a fund from special taxes...." Quilcene had its first special levy for the schools, then, in 1887. Not all of Quilcene's residents were happy with this levy, as is made clear by one "old settler" who complained bitterly to the *Leader* that the town was growing out of all proportion and that he now had to pay taxes for "...schoolhouses with steeples and patent written desks...." From some perspectives the cost of schools in rural America was already extreme and still is.

---

*It seems likely that it was McArdle who first proposed having a dance hall in the school.

The Quilcene Queen of June 11, 1891, gives a school enrollment of 51 with an average attendance of 43. Seven children had perfect attendance records and 10 earned grades above 90. At this time, the school enrollment was considerably swelled due to an influx of new residents in Quilcene who found work on the Port Townsend Southern Railway grade, tracks, and trestles. Some of these workers had families with them. (See, for example, Satterlee, 1952).

In 1908, Union High School District No. 1, serving students from Quilcene and Leland school districts, was formed. A new, concrete building was constructed in 1910 in the center of Quilcene near the railroad crossing. By 1911, in addition to local taxes and county funds, state funds were also being contributed to the local school districts. In 1916, the state funds for rural high schools were increased on a high school bonus system. Quilcene-Leland High School Union No. 1 graduated four students in that year.

The Quilcene, Brinnon, and Leland school districts all had similar curriculum programs during this time, since both the county and the state influenced local education a great deal. In 1912, for instance, Jefferson County adopted the *Riverside Readers* as a basic text for the first six grades, and *Curry's Literary Reader* for the seventh and eighth grades, together with *Stepping Stones to Literature* as a supplemental text.

In 1920, two teachers in Quilcene and Brinnon wanted to exchange positions. The Brinnon teacher was having problems handling children whose parents were uncooperative, and the Quilcene teacher wanted to move to a rural (!) school. The two school boards met with the County Superintendent and all parties involved agreed to the exchange. The Superintendent went home to Port Townsend, but then the Brinnon board changed its mind, so the exchange never took place.

New roads and increased accessibility helped to reverse the earlier trend of the establishment of new school districts. According to the *Superintendent's General Record*, seven districts in the county voted on consolidation in 1916. From the beginning of the move to consolidate, Brinnon wanted to hold on to its schools. Brinnon students had begun attending Quilcene high school in 1918, after the Brinnon high school mysteriously caught fire and burned in the midst of a period of school board-faculty disputes in the community. Brinnon actually began its 50-year fight against consolidation in 1921, when it refused the county superintendent's proposal to consolidate with the other two Hood Canal school districts. By 1922, however, the Brinnon school was in debt, and the school board voted to close it. The county superintendent, though, prohibited closure, because the school was not deeply enough in debt to warrant closure, and because the school board was liable for the teachers' contract.

The structural problems inherent in the separate elementary and high school districts in Quilcene were bound to cause squabbles. The position of principal or head teacher of the Quilcene district was separate from the position of principal in the Union High School. Authority and responsibility were not clearly outlined for the two positions, and internal stresses were becoming intolerable.

In a pattern that was to repeat itself a number of times in Quilcene, a schoolman was dismissed for no other ostensible reason than "for the good of the school."

Administrative Structure

The State of Washington has a State Board of Education composed of 14 elected members, two from each congressional district. This board, together with the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, is in charge of the public education system. Below the state board, there are 14 Intermediate School Districts (I.S.D.'s). These Intermediate School Districts replaced the older county system in 1969. I.S.D. 114, which is the I.S.D. over School Districts No. 45 (Brinnon) and No. 48 (Quilcene), is composed of 16 school districts in all, with 34,028 students. The I.S.D. Superintendent is an appointed, rather than an elected, official. Many people dislike this arrangement, because they feel that it removes the superintendent from control by the population he serves. While each I.S.D. has a board of seven or more members elected from the included districts, communities like

Quilcene and Brinnon which constitute such an extreme minority of the constituency have little chance of placing a local member on such a board.

Below the I.S.D.'s there are local school districts with school boards from the immediate communities served.

> Local school districts are of three classes:
>
> 1. *First-Class District*--Population in excess of 10,000. There are currently 72 first-class districts. They serve approximately 80 percent of the total state school population.
> 2. *Second-Class District*--Any other district containing an organized town or a population of 300 in a square mile, or maintaining a fully accredited high school. In 1972 there were 196 districts of this category. They serve 19 percent of the students.
> 3. Third-Class District--All others. There are now 48 third-class districts...
>
> Districts of the first and second class are governed by five elected school board members, except for Seattle, which has seven. Districts of the third class are governed by boards of three members (*Citizens' Handbook for Washington State Finance*, 1970:4).

Thus, Brinnon, having no high school, is a third-class district, and Quilcene is a second-class district. The Brinnon School District has three people on its board (one member from each of the earlier districts which consolidated to form District No. 46) plus the principal/head teacher. Quilcene has a five-member board which is similarly constituted. In addition, Quilcene has a district superintendent and a high school principal who are engaged completely in administration. There is also a head teacher in the elementary school who has administrative duties in addition to his full-time teaching position. The situation is the same in Brinnon, where the school principal/head teacher is in fact a full-time teacher with administrative responsibilities. In addition, the Brinnon head teacher serves on the school board; in Quilcene, the superintendent does.

School board activities take up a great deal of the members' time in both communities. Since it is an unpaid position, such time is volunteered. One board member in Brinnon has described the job as full-time, while another is a retired man who works mainly during the summer. The Clerk of the School

Board spends one day a week on school business for which she is paid, but she willingly spends more time without pay.

In the 1960s and earlier, both Brinnon and Quilcene were considered to be wealthy school districts becuase of Federal Forest Funds. These funds were given to districts which contained large portions of federal forest land and provided services to Forest Service personnel, who moved frequently and were unlikely to own land and therefore to pay property taxes to support the school system. While the funding program has been modified recently so that Quilcene no longer benefits as directly from it as in the past, the number of Forest Service personnel in the area has increased, and both Quilcene and Brinnon continue to have annual per-pupil expenditures which are above average for school districts of their size in the state. According to figures compiled by I.S.D. 114 in Port Townsend, the per-pupil expenditure including transportation is about $1,200 in Quilcene and $1,100 in Brinnon, while the state average is $870.40 for districts of comparable size.*

Curriculum, Facilities, and Personnel

Despite their above-average per-pupil expenditures, both Quilcene and Brinnon school districts suffer from financial limitations simply because of their small size. In Brinnon, the number of students precludes having more than three teachers, which means putting three grades in each class. In the school year 1971-72, there were 3-1/2 full-time equivalent teachers in Brinnon, including a part-time assistant. One teacher had the first three grades, another grades 4, 5, and 6, and the head teacher taught grades 7 and 8.** According to the head teacher, this arrangement has certain inherent strengths and weaknesses. Younger students in multiple classrooms often learn along with upper grade children being taught in the same room. At the same time, slower children can profit from re-hearing material covered in the previous grades. With such a low teacher-pupil ratio there is a great deal more individual attention than in larger classrooms, and the teacher knows each child quite well. However, with such a small teaching staff there is not a large range of specialties and abilities to choose from. In Quilcene, there were 18 certified personnel, including a full-time principal and a superintendent, and 14 non-certified staff in 1971-72. Despite Quilcene's larger staff, small enrollment also often forces doubling up elementary grades and constrains the range of courses that can be offered. Both schools are faced with decreasing enrollments in the primary grades.

---

*For further financial data, see Appendix I.

**Throughout this research, however, Brinnon's enrollment only justified 2-1/2 teachers, which meant that one teacher had grades 1-4, and the other teacher had 5-8. Kindergarten and special classes were taught by the part-time teacher.

Because of its size, Brinnon was unable to offer a regular sports program or a special reading program in 1971-72. There was, however, a preschool which used the school facilities and operated on donated labor. A normal schedule for the Brinnon school was: English, spelling, (recess), reading, mathematics, (noon), social studies, science, physical education. In the same year, course offerings in Quilcene were as follows:

- In the elementary school there was reading, writing spelling, arithmetic, language, social studies, physical education, and music. Art was taught in grades 1-3, and science in grades 4-6.

- In the 7th grade, there was art, mathematics, spelling, reading, science, social studies, music, band, physical education, home economics, and shop.

- In the 8th grade, there was language arts, English, mathematics, science, social studies, music, band, physical education, reading/spelling, home economics, and shop.

- In the high school the subjects were typing I and II, general science, algebra I and II, home economics, physical education, Washington state history, driver's education, shop, Spanish I and II, drama, chorus, small motors, arts and crafts, core social studies, core English, band, world history, general business, mechanics, contemporary history, biology, chemistry, geometry, diversified occupations, family life, bookkeeping, journalism, general mathematics, contemporary problems and advanced mathematics.

In addition to the usual small high school curriculum Quilcene instituted a two-part core class in 1971-72. There was a basic core class in grades 9-12 geared to students with low motivation. This class met for two periods each day, and students received one credit of social studies and one English credit for the class according to the grade they were in. There was no outside work in the class, and various innovative attempts were made to interest the students in academic subjects, e.g., using lower level books, using card games to stimulate mathematics interest. Accelerated or college-bound core was available for the more highly motivated students in grades 10-12. These students also received credit in social studies and one credit in English for the class. Accelerated core met one period per day plus one evening per week at the home of the teachers (a husband/wife team) in charge of the class. Students were assigned one paper and one novel per week in addition to regular classroom work.

Quilcene also offered vocational education. The vocational education program was approved in the fall of 1971, with a district budget of $6,000. The new diversified occupations class, instituted in the school year 1971-72, was a class in which students, as part of their regular curriculum, worked in local businesses during a part of their regular school day. This was designed to give occupational meaning to the academic subjects covered in regular classroom work.

The Students

In 1972, aside from its basic core, the Quilcene program was essentially a college preparatory one. Other students were kept in school as long as possible, and the superintendent and principal tried to gear the existing program as much as possible to the students and community. The drop-out rate during the senior year had recently been approximately 20-22 percent. While there appeared to be a fairly clear dichotomy between students who participated heavily in school government, sports, etc., and those students who did not participate in anything, there did not seem to be a correlation between these two student groups and parental economic bases. At that time, there was considerable concern over drug abuse in the community, and a number of young people had been arrested. Most students who remained in Quilcene after finishing or leaving school went into logging, oystering, or homemaking. The percentage of students who did not remain in Quilcene after graduation between 1965 and 1972 is shown in Table 2.

Table 2

POST-HIGH SCHOOL OUT-MIGRATION IN QUILCENE, 1965-1972

Year	No. Graduated	No. in Quilcene	% out-migration
1965	20	5	75%
1966	30	8	74%
1967	22	10	55%
1968	20	10	50%
1969	21	7	66%
1970	25	11	56%
1971	19	9	53%
1972	24	19	21%

Source: Quilcene Public Schools, n.d.

Community Attitudes Towards the Schools*

Community attitudes toward the schools are strikingly different in Quilcene and Brinnon. In Quilcene, the school represents a hub around which considerable activity occurs, and is the location of the largest, regularly occurring gathering of people in the village. Situated in the precise center of town, the school and its students are highly visible; the most visible behavior of a small group of students can be taken as the behavior of the student body as a whole. Over 80 years of this "goldfish bowl" existence has instilled a very defensive atmosphere within the school, since controversy in the town tends to revolve around the school and school personnel. Periodically, the Quilcene community boils over in an agony of frustration, striking out at any convenient target--and that usually means the school. The "window on 101" is frequently subjected to brickbats.

Community attitudes toward Quilcene school have been marked by controversy. The core program, especially accelerated core, was generally approved in the community, but the open campus, a program initiated by the superintendent in 1971-72 in which students could leave the campus during their noon hour, caused considerable concern on the part of some residents. They believed that students should be restricted to the campus all day, that the open campus was a way for students to "go off somewhere to misbehave." A similar attitude was expressed toward science classes in which students moved about the community while doing course work for special projects.

In general, Quilcene residents differ considerably about what constitutes a good education, how it should be administered, and how it should be funded. Some feel that any enrichment of the school program is desirable and that the amount of money which is available to the school is too small to offer a wide range of courses. Other residents think that property taxes are already too high. They feel that there is no need for extra courses and that all children need is to learn to read and write and the rest of it is "tomfoolery." Some of these feel that additional programs are actually harmful to education in that they are disruptive of good discipline, which is paramount. They feel that if there is good discipline, the children are learning, and that presently discipline is lax. On the other hand, some residents think that discipline is already too harsh, and that the key to a good education is to get the students interested in what they are doing. Some people in the community think that the school system is salvageable only if the majority of older faculty are fired and young, dynamic ones are hired. While many people think that a good education is a necessity, many also think that the Quilcene Brinnon school system is not good enough and that the children should be sent to Port Townsend or Chimacum, "where they can get a decent education." Some people believe that the schools are turning out 100 percent illiterates. This diversity of opinion has recently been reflected in two facts. First, in the early 1960s in an effort to decrease taxes and improve the availability of a wider range of courses, consolidation was proposed with Chimacum; Quilcene residents rejected the plan. Second, in order to raise funds for the school budget, Quilcene has had annual special levies in addition to property taxes; often the levies must be voted on twice before they pass.

---

*This section is written in the present tense, to emphasize the enduring quality of such attitudes; but this is an account of attitudes that prevailed in the 1972-73 school year, and a reconstruction of attitudes prior to the introduction of the Experimental Schools project. The most significant change that occurred during this research was an increase in school-related conflict in Brinnon.

Some community members have noted a correspondence between positive feelings about the Quilcene school and the success of its sports team. Others have noted that residents feel more positive about the school system when a new superintendent takes office. In general though, most Quilcene and Brinnon residents recognize that a shortage of funds and students have created a shortage of curriculum offerings in Quilcene's schools. When the Office of the State Superintendent of Education was requested to evaluate the Quilcene school system in February of 1972, it recommended an ungraded elementary school, an environmental education program, and a permanent citizens' committee to advise the school system.

Teachers and staff have been concerned over the lack of communication between administration and faculty, school and community. Since the PTA was disbanded in the early 1970s, there has been no formal communication between the Quilcene school system and its community, except when levies are voted on. The grapevine--coffee klatches, neighbor visits, and the telephone--is

Quilcene's channel of communication. The vast majority of Quilcene residents learn of events which occur at public meetings, which draw only 10-12 people, second- or third-hand. Women outnumber men at these meetings, and they are the most vocal influence in the school system. In only two or three very noticable instances do men participate in these public discussions and these usually are men who have a strong ideological stake in the proceedings.

In contrast, Brinnon residents feel positive about their school, and it is well supported by the community. Brinnon has a Parent-Teacher Organization (not affiliated with the National Association of Parents and Teachers) which endeavors to help the school in whatever way seems appropriate; the preschool program, for instance, was supported by the PTO. Brinnon residents are proud that there has always been a hot lunch program in the school. Compared to Quilcene, Brinnon has fewer special levies, and when they do occur, they are passed more easily. In general, partly because Brinnon is smaller, there has been less hostility and factionalism in school issues in Brinnon than in Quilcene. When Brinnon residents find fault with the schools, it is usually directed at Quilcene schools, rather than at their own.

Another effect of Brinnon's small size is that Brinnon residents consider their school to be essential to their identity as a community. Brinnon residents are afraid that Quilcene will gobble up their school, and one of their major problems has been how to hold on to it. The state and county governmental structures have been passing legislation and recreating formulae in a manner that is increasingly in favor of consolidation. Brinnon residents prefer their school to that of Quilcene, and don't want the elementary children to be bused 12 miles daily over Mt. Walker, which frequently ices over in the winter. They feel that transporting the high school students over Mt. Walker already takes a large portion of the school budget. In addition, they are dissatisfied with the education that their high school students are receiving at Quilcene, and hesitate to give up the control which they have over their children's elementary education.

CHAPTER 8: CONCEPTS, CONSTRUCTS, AND WORLD VIEW*

The brief, comparatively theoretical discussion provided in this chapter presents our assumptions and interests with regard to individual learning and the roles of the schools. We discuss the ideas of Frederick Gearing, Anthony F.C. Wallace, and George Kelly; and we integrate their ideas with our own, to explicate our approach to understanding schooling in Quilcene.

Enculturation

Schools (in Quilcene and elsewhere) are an important part of the American method of dealing with the problem of enculturation. In all societies children mature and become adults who (on the whole) are capable of functioning in society. In America, during this maturational period, every individual is required to spend a considerable amount of time in school. Educators have focused very heavily on the content of the curriculum in their efforts to understand schooling and its effects (or lack of effects) on students; our focus has been on the school as a social system. As will be seen in the following chapters, we have looked for interaction patterns among various categories of people (e.g., students, administrators, teachers, "noncerts"); we have sought patterned regularities within the school (e.g., class schedules, the pervasiveness of sex-role stereotypes, age-grading); and we have tried to clarify the values that the school presents (e.g., the tension between authoritarian and democratic modes of dealing with people; the importance of personal responsibility, hard work, and equity), and how certain school values conflict with those of the students.

Our relative disregard of curriculum content derives from several theoretical perspectives. We agree with Gearing (1975) and Gearing et al. (1973) that skills and information (such as formal curriculum content) tend to diffuse rather randomly throughout the population in the absence of barriers to information flow. Our observations confirm the findings of Conant (1974:55), who has observed that in Portland schools only 30% of the teacher's time is devoted to actually conveying information. We further know from observations and personal experience how little of the content of formal curriculum applies to actual life experiences. Analyzing poetry and fiction, proving theorems in geometry, and memorizing the Preamble to the Constitution may never prove useful again once the test is passed.

---

*A more detailed elaboration of the ideas presented in this chapter is available in C. Colfer (1974).

But the social structural aspects of schooling are replicated throughout American society. The values expressed in schools are ones that will be encountered again and again throughout life. The way in which the student meshes with the school as an institution (in most cases) serves as a prototype for his or her mesh with all the other formal institutions to be encountered throughout life.

Harris (1969:64) talks of age five or entry in school as the time of social birth. During childhood and, to a lesser extent, in adolescence, young people learn by observation the way life proceeds, the appropriate cultural patterns for their own societies. American young people inevitably learn important lessons from the cultural environment of their school. It is their first experience as individuals dealing with a formal institutional framework; because they are immersed in that setting for so many hours and years, the school _must_ teach important lessons about the nature of the world and how to deal with it. It is our desire to abstract those lessons from the behavior of individuals in one school district. Many of the lessons we outline in the forthcoming pages are common to virtually all schools. Others are heavily influenced by the nature of the interaction between the school and this particular community and will be less generalizable. Our efforts are aimed at learning what transpires in schools.* The clamor of voices about what schools _should_ do cannot be quelled without more knowledge about what the schools _in fact_ do.

Human Psychology

In our view, any discussion of human interaction and behavior implies some view of human psychology. We would like to specify at the outset our assumptions in this regard. We accept the point of view expressed by George A. Kelly in _A Theory of Personality: The Psychology of Personal Constructs_ (1963). We have chosen his ideas from the wide range of available psychological theories of personality for several reasons: (1) he makes no assumptions or statements about human nature that are contradicted in the ethnographic record; (2) his conceptual framework and terminology are sufficiently clear for use by nonpsychologists; and (3) his theoretical perspective meshes nicely with that of cognitive anthropologists.

---

*Other American scholars who have also approached schools in a holistic fashion include Wolcott (1967), Sarason (1971), Warren (1967), Gearing et al. (1973), Blanchard (1974), Burnett (1969), and Barker (1968).

Kelly begins his theory with a "Fundamental Postulate":

> A person's processes are psychologically channelized by the ways in which he anticipates events. (1963:46, and elsewhere.)

Kelly sees the subject of psychology as a process rather than as an "inert substance" (1963:47), and by so doing he makes it unnecessary to look for motivations, external stimuli, needs, and so forth. The "natural" state for human beings, then, is active rather than passive. He describes human nature as a constant striving to predict events, to anticipate happenings, and thereby to have some control over them. The following statement nicely summarizes Kelly's concerns and aims for his theory:

> Perhaps there can spring from [the Fundamental Postulate] a theory of personality with movement as the phenomenon rather than the epiphenomenon, with the psychological processes of the layman making the same sense as those of the scientist, a dynamic psychology without the trappings of animism, a perceptual psychology without passivity, a behaviorism in which the behaving person is credited with having some sense, *a learning theory in which learning is considered so universal that it appears in the postulate rather than as a special class of phenomena*, a motivational theory in which man is neither pricked into action by the sharp points of stimuli nor dyed with the deep tones of hedonism, and a view of personality which permits psycho-therapy to appear both lawful and plausible. (1963:49-50, emphasis added.)

One can readily see the ramifications of such a view of human nature on our analysis of what transpires in a school. The school is an institution which claims as its *raison d'être* a virtual monopoly on learning. Indeed, community members as well maintain that a child "learns to learn" in school, and repeatedly indicate their conception that "school is where one learns things." Most Americans make a distinction between the kinds of things one learns in school (as part of the formal curriculum) and the kinds of things one learns as part of ordinary adult functioning. Indeed, the latter is hardly considered "learning." In our view, however, this distinction distorts reality. Formal curriculum, the kind of learning that Americans call "learning," is but a miniscule part of the culture that must be learned by each individual who grows to adulthood.

Kelly calls the mechanisms used by people for predicting events personal constructs. A construct is:

> a representation of the universe, a representation erected by a living creature and then tested against the reality of that universe. (1963:12.)

Constructs, then, are constantly being formed and altered as they prove inadequate to the task of prediction. Basically Kelly sees no fundamental difference between the processes and goals employed in scientific investigation and those used by laypersons in their daily lives. In Kelly's view, man is an incipient scientist (1963:4).

World View

Constructs, in their static aspect, are reminiscent of the familiar anthropological "world view." A world view would, in our conception, be composed of a finite number of constructs available to all members of the society. Although world views have traditionally been discussed in static terms that imply acceptance of the "replication of uniformity" view of culture (Wallace, 1961), there is no reason why the phenomena or processes that have been labeled world views cannot be reinterpreted in the more processual and individually diversified framework provided by Kelly. Indeed, Kelly's theory of personal constructs provides an acceptable mechanism by which world views are transmitted and maintained, without implying that members of a given society share an identical image of the world (or on the other extreme implying that people are cognitively alone, as does Wallace, 1961).

Kelly's interpretation of individual psychology nicely solves the anthropological dilemma of placing the individual in the sociocultural context. The individuals with whom one interacts form part of the reality against which members of a society must test their constructs; the behavior of other members of one's society is part of the procession of events that any individual is trying to predict. Thus, Kelly's framework allows for the deterministic aspects of culture, as well as envisioning the considerable individual variation that is found within any culture.

Wallace's (1961) mazeways are analogous to one individual's total set of constructs; Wallace is concerned with prediction and sees the capacity for prediction as the organizing factor in social relations, but his formulation provides no mechanism by which this prediction is accomplished.

Gearing et al. (1973) likewise fail to indicate how people predict each other's behavior. Kelly supplies that missing link by postulating a human nature that seeks to predict events and that tests its predictions on the reality in which it finds itself.

Given this view of human nature and society, the school cannot be considered the sole or even the principal purveyor of knowledge. Its self-conception of "filling empty vessels" is inaccurate. Children choose to learn or perceive those bits of information that will help them in their overall attempts to improve their predictive competence. It is our conception that the school can never "succeed" in its attempts to "teach" children in a pre-chosen curriculum; different children will be testing their constructs in different areas at different times in their lives. But they are always testing, learning, creating hypotheses about the nature of their reality. The school, as a social system, as a cultural reality against which children test their hypotheses about the world, is extremely significant. A child's notions of what is, what the world is like, are greatly influenced by those very hypotheses and tests that he or she makes in the school setting.

The individual child's cognitive system or world view, then, develops in interaction with the reality that he or she perceives. This view of human cognitive functioning emphasizes the social environment (the "reality") rather than any specific elements on the curriculum, or particular teaching methods, or even the child's "intellectual potential." Those specifics relating to curriculum and teaching methods are important and relevant in cases where a child has chosen to devote his or her efforts to intellectual accomplishments; but other, more developmental kinds of processes inevitably occur at school. We are seeking an overall understanding of what schooling does and how children grow to adulthood in the school environment. Something happens to that vast majority of children who do not devote their adult lives to "intellectual" pursuits. It is our contention that one can gain important insights into what happens to all children in school by looking at the school from an environmental perspective, as a totality.

CHAPTER 9: ADULTS IN CONTROL*

The school, as an institution, is run by adults; this chapter examines the different categories into which these adults fall and the different functions they serve. We begin with a description of the school board and its functioning. The school board is the formal locus of community control of the school and plays an important role in relations between the school and the community. Next is a brief discussion of the administrative structure of the school, followed by a detailed presentation of the school as an adult work setting. In that discussion we focus on the significance of certification and sex as principles which reflect access to power and decision-making in the school.

Power and Responsibility on the Local Level

The Board of Directors of Quilcene School District #48--more commonly called the "...school board**--is the..." major elected body in the village. One member is elected from each of four districts and one is elected "at large"--all for four-year terms. The board then chooses its own chairperson. Terms are staggered so that not all of the board members come up for election in the same year; thus, there is always some degree of continuity in school board constitution.

One might expect elections of school board members to be controversial and hotly contested since, according to the American democratic model, citizens influence governmental decision-making by their choice of representatives, and since local control of schools is a widely expressed value in Quilcene. However, in actuality, school board positions are usually filled with little or no competition; indeed, it is sometimes difficult to find people who will file for election. In the fall of 1975, the two most recent additions to the board had initially been appointed and subsequently ran for election unopposed. As will be seen, the job of school board member includes many onerous responsibilities as well as the power associated with local control of the school. Indeed, school board membership in Quilcene, like presidency of a club, involves more duties than privileges.

---

*Part II of this volume is essentially concerned with those aspects of schooling in Quilcene and Brinnon that seem most generalizable to American schooling as a whole. However, because of the centrality of Quilcene's Experimental Schools project to this research, the project and the roles of project personnel are occasionally mentioned or discussed here. A fuller treatment of these roles and activities is provided in Part III.

**Due to similarities in the structure and functioning of Quilcene's and Brinnon's boards, and because of Quilcene's greater participation in the Experimental Schools project, we have primarily described Quilcene's board, only referring to Brinnon's when important differences exist.

School board meetings are held in the school library on the second Monday of each month. At a typical board meeting, the members first meet "informally" in the superintendent's office, then file into the library shortly after the convening hour of 8:00 p.m. These meetings are normally attended by very few citizens. The superintendent and his secretary are always present, as is the principal and usually the Experimental Schools (ES) Project Coordinator (at the insistence of the board). Meetings generally last until 10:30 or 11:00 p.m. An agenda is usually followed although adjustments are made in some instances. There is usually a time for questions from the floor to raise new business or discuss old. This is nearly always put first if there are five or six citizens present, since such groups only come if they have a specific item to discuss. This pattern holds for most of the late spring, fall and early winter. After the meeting ends the board mills about informally for a few minutes and then departs, or as often as not, wanders into the superintendent's office for an executive session (from which the public is barred).

It is easy in an analysis such as this to represent a phenomenon such as a board meeting as one in which things are always "happening." Nothing could be further from the truth. The overriding atmosphere of a school board meeting is one in which numerous mundane and uninteresting questions are addressed and decided upon: the superintendent tells the board what has happened in the last month in regard to the problem with the dust collection device in the shop; someone has written a letter requesting certain information from the Quilcene schools, and the recipient reads it; the secretary wants a raise; some reports to NIE need board signatures. These are the kinds of issues that are typically dealt with in the monthly board meetings. It is little wonder that so few people subject themselves to public meetings of this sort. For the members themselves, most of the issues are only marginally interesting; for an audience, they are a supreme bore.

Board members regularly attend the monthly meetings, and there are occasional extra meetings throughout the year to deal with special matters. Part of the board meets regularly in the spring with the teachers to negotiate contracts. There are regional and state conventions for school board members to which some or all of the members go. There are luncheons, special problem meetings, and considerable book work which must be attended and done. Finally there is a constant and nagging barrage of phone calls, conversations, and letters from citizens concerned or outraged about a variety of school-related matters (from their child's expulsion to the sight of a Quilcene youngster smoking cigarettes in Port Angeles 45 miles away).

Each spring, the board must turn to the question of a special levy. Someone must be appointed to chair the levy committee. In 1973, an influential logger (one of the board members) ran the levy committee after the levy failed once. In 1974, the committee was chaired by the wife of a teacher, herself a part-time employee of the school under the Experimental Schools project. Attendance at board meetings always goes up markedly during "levy time." As noted earlier, the 1973 levy was very controversial, and consequently school board meetings were large, vocal, and harrowing. The atmosphere in 1974 and 1975, when school-community relations were smoother, was considerably less tense.

Interactions between board members and visitors are easy and informal under normal circumstances. People who come in are often greeted by name. The manner in which audience and board address one another is marked by the easy familiarity of people who have known each other for a long time and who intend to ignore the official nature of the situation. In the absence of controversy, this is a relaxed and pleasant way to do business. When times are tense, as during the 1973 levy preparations, anger is expressed between people who know each other well rather than between occupants of formal "roles," and that anger ricochets around the community. It is only during periods of high stress that people resort to relatively formal forms of address and manner.*

The tempers that flare at levy time provide an appropriate introduction to school funding as it affects community-school relations. It is worthwhile to note that the problems that are evident in Quilcene in this regard are duplicated in virtually every school district in the state of

---

*There is far more to communication than the use of terms of address. The manner of holding the body, the grammar used, the inflection of speech and facial expression are the most obvious. These differ markedly from formal to informal modes of address. It is, of course, easier to impart the feeling of formality in an official atmosphere, but the same combination of expression and inflection can be used to impart formality in almost any situation.

Washington.* Schools derive their financial support from special levies, from counties, from the state, and from the federal government. In 1970-71, for instance, the state provided 53.6% of statewide school district expenditures; local property taxes provided 31.5%; the federal government provided 7.3%; and other local sources provided 7.6% (Citizens' Handbook for Washington State School Finance, 1971). State monies are distributed by complex formulae that weight pupils according to such factors as grade level, number of pupils in the school, number of culturally disadvantaged pupils, number of students residing on tax-exempt land, and so on. Additional funds are often (and somewhat unpredictably) available for specific kinds of programs, kinds of pupils, or kinds of study. But special levies have become increasingly common in Washington as state support has decreased (as a percentage of total school costs) and costs have increased.

Community members in Quilcene, as elsewhere, balk at the increases in the cost of schooling and want to know more about how much money is available, how much education has to cost, and how school money is being spent. The variety of sources, the complexity of the formulae, the uncertainty about the availability of funds from some sources, and eternal problems of projecting expenses combine to make it very difficult for board members to provide the kinds of information that citizens want. When a community member asks a question about the distribution of tax money for education at a school board meeting, the board members are faced with two equally unappealing choices: (1) they can say that they don't understand the system (and inevitably they truly don't understand parts of it, since it is constantly changing) and appear hopelessly incompetent, or (2) they can try to explain the system as completely as possible and be accused of purposely obfuscating the issue to avoid facing it.** Board members express distaste for the current system of school funding as well, but they support education in Quilcene and they say that the only alternative to passing levies is closing the school.

---

*One of the major campaign issues in the November 1976 general election was the question of school funding. The people want an alternative to school funding by special levy.

**The latter was, in fact, our own opinion of board actions until we got a copy of the state pamphlet "explaining" the system. We are now convinced that there is no way that that system could be explained clearly and succinctly.

In a situation where the public is concerned about tax spending and the rising costs of education but lacks understanding of the complex funding rules, it is small wonder that the board exhibits little enthusiasm for public participation in its task. Such participation inevitably brings with it criticism and censure. The school board makes many decisions which directly affect the following year's taxes. Board members hire and fire (actually, fail to rehire) school staff and faculty, they decide expenditures for maintenance of existing buildings, they negotiate teachers' salaries, they allocate school funds for purchases either within the community or out of it. They are ultimately responsible for any decisions made within the school concerning books, curriculum, discipline, and day-to-day operation of the plant. Many of these decisions intimately affect the well-being of community members as parents, as potential employees, as contractors and merchants. Given the size of the community, not many people need be affected to constitute a significant number. Thus, three people who attend a school board meeting and are vocal are viewed by the school board as significant and representative of many more.

In times of crisis, any of the small clubs and interest groups in the community can become a significant force influencing the school board. When the board is, in fact, undecided on an issue and one of these interest groups comes to a meeting en masse, its chances of influencing the board's decision are very high. One of the important disadvantages of board membership includes the likelihood of having to face such a group of citizens irate over some decision already made. For instance, community members coalesced in 1975 to protest the choice of coaches; such groups regularly form to protest the amount of the levy.

Chapter 5 discussed the general community preference for consensus and harmony in formal associations. However, the controversial issues that emerge in regard to the school require school board action. Whereas in most voluntary associations the decisions to be made are not of great importance to participants, many of the decisions in the school have considerable significance to the people of Quilcene. The decisions involve their children and their money, and sometimes their jobs. School board members, then, are in an awkward position. Culturally they are to present a model of harmonious interaction and decision-making by consensus; but they are to accomplish this in the face of considerable community disagreement and controversy.

Vidich and Bensman (1968:171ff) discuss the structural qualities of small-town school board membership that encourage the adoption of a pose of pseudosecrecy. While actual deception is not usually practiced, it does become advantageous to give out as little information as possible concerning board activities. Decisions that board members expect to be particularly controversial are usually made outside the regular meetings in executive sessions, or simply by telephone consensus before a regular meeting. Violent public disagreement among board members--an eventuality that would run counter to important cultural prescriptions--is thus avoided.

Some board members have always been nervous about reporters being present at meetings. Thus newspaper reporters are occasionally admonished to refrain from including some statement or item in the newspaper report. The same members became increasingly apprehensive when we began attending meetings with notebook in hand. Occasional comments about the forthcoming "Peyton Place" shifted over time to tense silences.

Board members receive no salary despite the problems and anxieties that members encounter in their official duties. Over the last four to six years the time necessary to cover the tasks has more than tripled.* Board members now devote one evening per week to school board matters and have to spend additional time on the phone. The work is increasing markedly and public financial disclosure laws which carry stiff penalties for mistakes are now applicable to school board members as well. What possesses otherwise rational people to engage in such tasks?

The answer most often given is that somebody has to do it. The job is seen as important since educational opportunities are valued highly. Board members reluctantly express their commitment to maintaining or improving the school's capacity to prepare youngsters to deal with society and to make a living. Their reluctance to express such a motive is consistent with a general unwillingness in Quilcene to admit to any altruistic motivation.

The second answer given is that the individual has specific vested interests in the schools in the form of children who attend school. Board members want the best for their own children and the most straightforward way of achieving this is to ensure a good school system. That means getting involved in the school board.

---

*Personal communication, Quilcene school board members.

The third major answer is that the board member pays a lot of taxes and feels the need to see those taxes spent in the most reasonable way possible. These three answers sum up neatly the major reasons for participating in school board activities. Yet the (almost) unspoken corollary of these reasons is one that a board member volunteered as an aside: she felt egotistical enough to believe that she could do the job better than others. Certainly this unspoken belief is held by occupants of any public office, including school board members. It is recognized widely, though seldom admitted so straightforwardly. It is the underlying reason behind the "who the hell do they think they are" philosophy of the citizenry at large concerning public officials. It is also a large factor in the board's insistence that its way of dealing with a problem is the best way available. Board members are elected to do the job as best they can, and they have access to complex bodies of information unavailable (or at least not widely accessible) to the citizens of the communities.

Finally, the simple exercise of power cannot be dismissed as inconsequential in the decision to run for the school board. For whatever other reasons there are to run, one "prize" of elected office is the publicly mandated power that accompanies election. Nevertheless, and despite other reasons for running, a major factor in the decision to run for the board is an altruistic commitment to society at large and to students in particular.

A board member must be able to see rewards in the task that are self-generating. That is, in the face of frequent community disapproval, the board member must have sufficient strength of conviction to justify and value the work for its own sake. Moreover, since much of the task is a striving toward rather than achieving per se, the board member must be able to be satisfied with the struggle itself.

Board membership also requires a willingness to work with the bureaucratic structure of the state and federal educational agencies. These agencies administer the redistribution of state and federal taxes to local districts. Yet, despite their local origin, these funds are considered the "property" of those external government agencies. Thus the monies are redistributed with specific strings attached. In order to receive the school's portion of available tax monies, it is necessary to comply with state and federal guidelines governing many aspects of school life--from curriculum to staff ethnic composition.

To get state aid for remodeling a school building, for instance, a two-story building must have an elevator for handicapped students; or, all federal monies can be withdrawn if girls do not have equal access to sports programs. The board cannot enact policies without duly considering these guidelines since ignoring them could well cost the district huge sums of scarce money. The board members must be willing to work in a bureaucracy. They must accept having ultimate authority for only some areas of responsibility. For other areas, authority lies elsewhere in the chain of educational bureaucracy.

It is clear that the Public Employee value system outlined in Chapters 3 and 4 is more congruent with school board membership than is the Local value system. It is not surprising, then, that during the course of the ES project (and the accompanying increase of federal money and federal interest) school board membership changed from predominantly Local to predominantly Public Employee.

As can be seen in Table 3, members 1, 2, and 3 remained in office all three years. Member 4, the Local woman (1973-74 and 1974-75), was a part-time employee of the U.S. Postal Service and straddles the Public Employee/Local boundary. In the fifth slot, Public Employees replaced a Local after the first year. The Brinnon board also had a majority of Public Employees.

For the Quilcene board, the additional work represented by the advent of the Experimental Schools program was estimated on the order of a 15% to 20% increase--all of it dealing with a large federal bureaucracy.

The School's Administrative Structure

The superintendent hired by the school board is the formal link between the school board and the school. When events are running smoothly in the school, when the community is satisfied with the school, and when the superintendent is popular, relations between the board and the superintendent are easy and friendly. Both have important interests in and responsibilities for the financial solvency of the school; and the superintendent possesses valued expertise about the specifics of school finance. The superintendent's greater understanding of the educational bureaucracy, his full-time position in the school, and his authority based on educational certification give him considerable influence with board members. Under ideal conditions, the superintendent keeps the board informed about events as they occur in

Table 3: School Board Composition: 1972-75

QUILCENE SCHOOL BOARD

1972-73

1) Biologist/administrator, State Shellfish Laboratory, native of Quilcene
2) Chemist/researcher, State Shellfish Laboratory
3) Logger/farmer, originally from Seattle
4) Logger resigned, was replaced by Local woman whose husband worked for the Forest Service
5) Logger, originally from out of state

1973-74

1) Biologist/administrator, State Shellfish Laboratory, native of Quilcene
2) Chemist/researcher, State Shellfish Laboratory
3) Logger/farmer, originally from Seattle
4) Local woman whose husband worked for the Forest Service
5) Logger from out of state resigned, was replaced by Justice of Peace from California (a woman)

1974-75

1) Biologist/administrator, State Shellfish Laboratory, native of Quilcene
2) Chemist/researcher, State Shellfish Laboratory
3) Logger/farmer, originally from Seattle
4) Local woman whose husband worked for the Forest Service
5) Justice of the Peace resigned, was replaced by a Forest Service employee (a man)

BRINNON SCHOOL BOARD

1972-73 through 1974-75

1) Administrator/master of state Boy Scout camp
2) Certified teacher, part-time employee of ES project, recent immigrant to Brinnon
3) Local woman married to a Public Employee

the school and serves as a vital source of information and expertise. In salary negotiations with teachers, superintendents represent and endorse the school board's position.

When the superintendent is unpopular either in the school or in the community, relations between the superintent and the board are likely to become uneasy. Board meetings can become arenas for citizen harangues against the school, for teacher complaints, and for formal conflicts among administrators. Such occurrences are very uncomfortable for board members and usually precede the firing of the superintendent. A common remark in Quilcene is "superintendents and ministers tend to last about four years around here."* During the course of the ES project, Quilcene had three superintendents.

The superintendent, as the highest-level individual working full-time in the school, has a symbolic significance in the community. Although ultimate, formal authority over decisions in the school rests with the school board, the superintendent is considered more culpable for school failings. He is, after all, in the school all day; he implements the policies decided on by the board; he often has considerable influence in the formation of policies by the board; he is an outsider; he is the only high-level representative of the Public Employee lifeway who is subject to any community control; he is responsible, on a daily basis, for the behavior, care, and enculturation of a precious community resource: the children. He, more than the school board, is held responsible for the failure of the school to be all things to all people.

Some people in Quilcene maintain that the Quilcene school is too small to have a superintendent (a sentiment shared by at least one superintendent). Although the exact organization of the school is left largely to the discretion of each incumbent, superintendents typically retain responsibility for financial matters, building and upkeep, and community relations. They may also delve into the sports program, discipline, teacher supervision, or any other element of schooling that interests them, though interference in such areas is likely to foster resentment in the principals or teachers. Indeed, resentment of the superintendent's "interference" was evident under every administration we observed.

---

*A new minister had just come to Quilcene's Presbyterian Church in 1972; and Brinnon's Community Church changed ministers during the course of the ES project.

Relationships between superintendents and principals are particularly problematic. Interaction modes between the two men in each case alternated between egalitarianism and authoritarianism, replicating in a very public fashion a dilemma that recurs throughout Quilcene and the school. Typically, in an effort to be "democratic," the superintendent divides the administrative duties fairly equally between himself and the principal or principals. Good administration is believed to include the "delegation of authority," but the fact that the community and the school board hold the superintendent responsible for the school forces the superintendent to intervene in the domain he has assigned to the principal whenever he strongly disagrees with the principal or whenever some crisis threatens. This oscillation between authoritarianism and egalitarianism fosters resentment on the part of the principal and makes good relations between the two men difficult. (A number of examples of this kind of conflict are cited in Part Three's discussion of the ES project.)

Since principals are often assigned the duty of supervising teachers, some of the same problems occur between teachers and principals as occur between principals and superintendents. Principals often have the responsibility for the "housekeeping" chores related to the everyday running of the school, observation and evaluation of teachers in classrooms, disciplinary problems, scheduling of classes, and so on. Like superintendents, principals encourage an egalitarian interpretation of their relationship to teachers; and yet the principal's right to make schedules, determine major disciplinary measures, and evaluate teachers (among other things) inevitably results in differences of opinion wherein the principal has legitimate authority.

Our psychological perspective suggests that conflicts arise regularly when individuals in the system have difficulty predicting the behavior of their coworkers. The school-wide vacillation between authoritarian decrees on the one hand and democratic decision-making on the other makes prediction difficult for everyone. And conflicts abound.

The vacillation can be seen in the relationships between superintendent and principal, between principal and teacher, and between teacher and student (see Chapter 10). It reflects the conflicting demands of social order and individual freedom, of two views about human nature: Are people basically evil and in need of constant prodding and supervision, or are people fundamentally creative and responsible?

In order to depict the kinds of problems and responsibilities that characterize school administration in Quilcene, on a daily basis, we have included a vignette on the subject. "A Day in the Life of a Principal" is condensed from detailed observations of three separate days taken at different times over the course of this research. Reconstruction of attitudes is based on other conversations and statements, as well.

A Day in the Life of a Principal

He slipped out of bed and walked quietly out to the back porch to watch the sun rise over the Bolton Peninsula. He liked the dappled color shifts as the dense forests and silent bay wakened to the day. Upstairs he could hear the kids getting up, grunting and sleepy, preparing for breakfast. They ate as a family unit, quietly, in deference to his demands, but as he left the house he could hear the noise quotient go up suddenly.

He parked in front of the school buildings, nosed up to Highway 101, the second car in the lot. He recognized the teacher's car, and wondered idly about his early arrival. As he walked back to the high school building which housed his office he stopped a couple of times to pick up pieces of litter and dropped them into the trash barrel by the administration building. Glancing into the front office, he noticed the neat, untrammeled appearance of the Superintendent's desk, and smiled ruefully, wondering if the "Man" would even show up today. In the last week, the Superintendent had been absent 3½ days, obviously involved in some personal business out of town. The school staff was simply expected to cover for the Superintendent. The Head of Maintenance met him at the corner of the high school building.

"Mornin' Bud"

"Good Morning, Bert. What's the trouble? Boiler again?"

"It was plumb off this morning when I got here at 6, Bud. I don't know how long we're going to keep that thing running."

"Same problem?"

"Oh, no. Sump'n new every day, now. I think I've got it lined out for today, but then, there's tomorrow."

"Yeah. Yes, indeedy," replied the Principal, wondering about the Superintendent, "There's always tomorrow."

The boiler presented a problem which he must deal with, but which he could not solve. It required a major overhaul, or better, a replacement, which was currently beyond the financial resources of the school. Nevertheless, if it refused to run it would be the Principal who would have to deal with the consequences.

At the front door of the high school building Mr. Ainslee, the teacher whose car was parked out front, waited. He wanted to take off a day for various reasons, most of which he tried to make out as school business. Bud refused the request, not bothering to point out the unfortunate timing, when teacher salaries were already a town issue in the levy dispute. He walked upstairs to the office, frowning at the sight of the new outside scoreboard controls sitting in the hall. He moved these to the "book room" at the end of the hall, noting that it, too, needed a lock.

In the office, the counselor waited for him, wanting assistance with the Abt pupil questionnaires. The Principal refused that request, too, pointing out the clear disparity in the relative work loads of the two people.

He traded good mornings with the secretary, and then went out to the bus shed to check the tires on one of the buses. The maintenance man had told him the other day that the bus needed new ones. He stopped briefly at the manual arts room where the science teacher and the shop teacher were coordinating a proposed joint class in which high school students were to teach junior high students about electricity. Then he went on to the 4th grade classroom to inform the teacher that a driver was available for a proposed field trip.

Back in the office (at 8:45) he reminded the secretary that the ES Project Officer wanted certain fund expenditures clarified in the upcoming Quarterly Report the office was currently preparing. The bus driver from the Brinnon run came in to inform him that she could not, in fact, take the 4th grade on that field trip, but that her co-worker would. So Bud went back to the 4th grade classroom to so inform the teacher. Enroute back to the office he noted that the Superintendent was in, so he stopped in at the office to mention the tires.

"Good Morning, Mr. Tripp. The small bus that runs to Brinnon is in need of tires. Do you want me to deal with it or will you?"

Mr. Tripp did not look up from his desk, on which lay the single sheet of the previous day's school bulletin which was the subject of his intent scrutiny.

"I'll handle it."

Bud turned from the door, raising his eyebrows helplessly at the secretary, who smiled ruefully in return.

"Hey, Bud." The Superintendent was now leaning back in his chair, peering out the door of his office. "There was a guitar stolen from the music room last night. See if you can't arrange for some of those intellectuals to learn how to use a padlock." He returned to his intent scrutiny of the previous day's school bulletin.

Bud left the office immediately, heading for the music room. The theft of a guitar was a serious business, and one that the Superintendent should not sluff off so nonchalantly, he thought. But it turned out that the guitar had merely been moved from the locker, then hidden behind furniture as the maintenance crew cleaned the room. Much relieved, Bud started to go inform the Superintendent, and then decided to wait and see how long it took him to find out for himself. By 9:05 he was at his desk looking at the draft of the Quarterly Contract Report, and by 9:10 he was busily writing a summary of the status of the Individualized Instruction Packet. He managed a whopping 45 minutes of uninterrupted work at this before the secretary informed him that the Sophomore class had not yet cleared with the office for the Sunday afternoon spaghetti dinner they were putting on. She also asked what the two students were supposed to do who had been kicked out of their music class. Bud sighed and said he'd talk to the music teacher, deciding a cup of coffee in the faculty lounge would not be out of place, either. Back in the music room, the teacher explained the situation.

"Those two think they can just come in here and be music stars. They will not do exercises, they won't practice, they think they can skip all the fundamentals."

"I thought they were two of your best students."

"Well, they both have talent, sure. But what good is that if they won't work? Look, Bud, let them cool their heels a couple of days, and I'll see if they will do the work when they come back. Why don't you talk to them? Tell them there's no such thing as a free lunch."

Bud went on into the faculty lounge, wondering why the music teacher always brought up such obscure illustrations. A free lunch. Hah! He poured himself a cup of coffee and sat down with the shop teacher who was examining the catalogue of Individualized Instruction classes. They talked a moment about the advisability of the Home Builder class being offered. The shop teacher felt that there was not (and could not be) enough practical experience in the package to make it worthwhile, and they decided not to encourage anybody in that one, and to drop it next year.

From the lounge, Bud went by the Front Office again to pick up the diplomas and was stopped in the hall by the Librarian. A sullen student behind her had been misbehaving in the Library, she pointed out, and would Bud please do something with him? Bud looked disgustedly at the student who tried to suppress a grin, and took the student in tow to the office. As Bud passed through the office he waved at a chair conspicuously situated by the door. The student took it in an accustomed manner.

From 11:20 to 11:45 he went over the Quarterly Report with the secretary, indicating changes to be made in the draft and additions to the budget sheet. At 11:46 the mechanics teacher came in and invited the Principal to attend a joint class in the morning, to which Bud had already been invited. He indicated that he would stop in for a minute, and that he used to teach electricity himself, though he didn't claim to be an expert.

The Bainbridge School District principal called about the baseball schedule, and those arrangements took a few minutes. He then returned to the mechanics teacher to ask him to check over the correspondence course on electricity.

"All of those Individualized Instruction courses are listed in that catalogue in the lounge. Would you check it out and tell me what you think of it?"

The secretary asked if the budget additions were right, and Bud called the Front Office to check a couple of details. He then checked over the questionnaire the ES Evaluation Assistant had drawn up to check faculty attitudes for change, and okayed it with a shrug.

Lunch was taken in the cafeteria, sitting at the faculty table near the stage. It was good, typical of the school's lunch program, atypical of lunch programs in general, he thought. He watched classes file in and gather in classes or cliques at the tables. He chatted a few minutes with the science teacher about the relative merits of their favorite fishing holes and decided to go after some fish after school.

Back in the office by one o'clock, he found three members of the student council examining correspondence courses.

"Planning on taking some?" he asked.

They were. One, wanting to graduate early, would take a class she could not otherwise take until the next year. Another, wanting some practical real estate background, would take a relevant course. He was happy with the interest generated by the Individualized Instruction classes, since they were largely of his own doing. As ES Project Coordinator, he had been responsible for their introduction.

He spent a few minutes with the secretary, again on the Quarterly Report, and then met with the high school cheerleaders. They wanted to be excused from classes to attend the Junior High Pep Rally. At first he was opposed, but they swayed him with arguments and pleas. He got reassurance that they would be there to teach the Junior High cheerleaders, not just to take over and play. He had them write their own "excuse from class" notes, and he signed them.

At 1:20 a teacher came in to report a probable case of intoxication, perhaps on marijuana. They talked it over and decided they could not do anything unless they called in the police. Not quite ready to do that, Bud agreed to have a hard talk with the student. But he sent the teacher to the Superintendent's office before turning to the Quarterly Report again. He had less than five minutes for that before the teacher came back with the Superintendent, who insisted on calling in the law. Bud called the Sheriff's office and had a long discussion with a local deputy who advised against a legal action without sure proof of drug use. Bud sat quietly after the call for a few minutes, thinking about the student in question, and the problem in general. It is a small town. He called the Superintendent to inform him of the advice and they decided to schedule a talk on drugs for the school board at some near date.

At 2:15 he again told the counselor that he could not use the Evaluation Assistant to help him get the Abt Questionnaires boxed, and then managed another 30 minutes on the Quarterly Report. At 3 o'clock several teachers came into the office and the group huddled over a Quarterly Report question on graduates. The business teacher knew where they all were and what they were doing. She rattled off the information for the secretary, who wrote it all down for the report. The last bell of the day rang and Bud sat quietly, listening to the commotion outside as the building emptied of students. Within ten minutes there was little or no sound in the building. He watched the buses pull out of the parking lot filled with pupils of all ages; and then headed for the parking lot himself.

Having arrived home before anyone else in his family, Bud quickly changed clothes and headed for the boat haven. He took off the cover from the cockpit, and revved up the engine, easing the boat gently out of the slip and heading out of the haven. Outside a strong swell was running up the bay, and he opened the engine up amid flying spray, heading for Dabob Bay and a favorite fishing hole. He could already taste fresh rockfish fillets for dinner. He was glad to be free of the constraints of the job, satisfied that he had done a good day's work. (Field Notes: 1973; '74; '75)

Certs and Noncerts

Schools consist not only of teachers and administrators but also of bus drivers, maintenance people, secretaries, cooks, and various kinds of aides. These people are usually ignored in traditional school analyses--a serious error from the perspective of this study. These people and the treatment they receive are important parts of the students' daily environment. They are part of the reality from which all young people construct their notions of how the world functions and what they can expect from life and the "world of work."

It is interesting to note that conflicts such as those raging between the principal and the superintendent do not occur in the superintendent's relationships with the Head Cook or the Head of Maintenance despite hierarchically analogous positions. In these instances the division of labor is clear and there is no overlap; the superintendent can freely admit to ignorance in the areas of cooking and maintenance. The superintendent cannot admit to such ignorance in regard to the principal's position. Nor is the stated purpose of the school connected in any direct way with the provision of gourmet meals, or with innovative interior and exterior decorating. Personnel see schools as institutions to teach children, and seeing that children are taught is the responsibility of the principal (via his teachers). The cooks and maintenance people can function with little heed for the school's "purpose."

The irrelevance of the cooks' and maintenance people's jobs to the central purpose of the school, the superintendent's ignorance of proper cooking and maintenance procedures, and the lack of competition between certified and noncertified staff in these service areas allow reasonably pleasant interaction among the incumbents.

In the kitchen, the Head Cook directs and plans meal making. She has one aide and a dishwasher in addition to several student aides who help at busy times. Duties of the Head of Maintenance include responsibility for bus maintenance and custodial work; and he acts as bus driver and boilerman besides coordinating his coworkers and communicating with the superintendent.

Three custodians help him and there are three bus drivers who come under his purview insofar as he keeps the buses running. Confined on buses full of children, the bus drivers' role is somewhat similar to that of teachers in that real supervision is virtually impossible.

Two more positions exist among noncertified staff: teachers' aides and secretaries. Teachers' aides work in conjunction with one teacher at a time, or are shared by two teachers who divide the aide's time between them. Although most of an aide's time is spent in the classroom under the supervision of one teacher, when aides venture forth from the classroom they are subordinate to the principal and the superintendent as well.

> I saw Mary [an aide] quickly slip out the side door of the library, looking furtively around. I asked her why she was sneaking around (as nobody was in sight). She laughed and said, "I was trying to get out of here before Mr. Ilton [the superintendent] saw me." I asked why, and she responded, "This morning he really got after me, because I didn't know how to run the ditto machine. I hate to have to come over here." (Field Notes, 1974.)

Aides are officially at the bottom of the adult instructional hierarchy. In 1972-73 there were three aides. One worked with a combined first and second grade class and another helped the special education teacher; both were female certified teachers who were unable to find teaching jobs, and both left at the end of that year. So did the third aide, who helped the librarian.

The Quilcene schools also provide a secretary for the superintendent and for the principal. The secretaries perform whatever functions are required by the administrators. They run errands, type letters, make reports to higher levels of the bureaucracy, protect administrators from visitors, run copy machines, or add figues. It is frequently said that "the secretaries run the school," and, as usual, there is considerable truth to the statement in that they know where things are, what things are permissible and expected, how to write reports, and how to prepare financial statements. Their importance and knowledge are particularly evident during administrative transitions. But they are clearly at the beck and call of the administrators. The relationship between administrators and their secretaries is remarkably similar to the Public Employee marital relationship in Quilcene, if one excludes the sexual component of marriage.

It is hard to emphasize enough the division between certified and noncertified personnel in terms of job security, promotion, salary schedules, and treatment by other school personnel. This division is reinforced by state rules pertaining to the certification of instructional and administrative staff members.

The tradition of certifying teachers and administrators emerged in response to general dissatisfaction with the quality of teaching in schools and a belief that further teacher education would insure an improvement in teaching (and therefore in learning). Congruent with this movement toward increased certification has been a nationwide movement to "professionalize" public school teaching. Implied in the term "professional" is a certain capacity to make good decisions about one's line of work and function autonomously.

Schools also dramatically increased in size while teaching was being professionalized. One way of dealing with larger numbers of individuals in an institutional setting is to bureaucratize, and this is the administrative model that has emerged. The two processes, bureaucratization and professionalization, make contradictory demands of teachers. As the lowest-level certified adults in the bureaucracy, teachers should follow orders, implement policies decreed at higher levels, and generally behave as functionaries. As professionals, on the other hand, teachers should determine their own actions and coordinate their classroom activities without external interference. Schools, then, straddle these two definitions of teachers, with administrators leaning toward the bureaucratic model, by and large, and teachers favoring the professional model.

But regardless of the model, the fact of certification is what classifies one as a professional (and to that degree potentially free of bureaucratic interference in one's job). The "noncerts," on the other hand, though free from the conflicts that exist between teachers and administrators over their proper respective roles, fit unambiguously within the bureaucratic model, and have no chance for promotion to the administrative positions in the school. The school is divided in half; the two categories of individuals are accorded differential treatment and have differential access to positions of authority within the school.

People in all walks of life have begun to involve themselves in salary negotiations, and neither certified nor noncertified staff members are an exception to this trend. Each spring the teachers choose a negotiating committee, and the members of that committee hold discussions with a school board negotiating committee on teachers' pay raises for the upcoming year. In 1974-75, four male teachers negotiated with two male school board members. These all-male negotiations took place in special private meetings. Though teachers' salaries are theoretically available to the public, they are not publicized and the school door was left locked during teacher negotiation meetings.

That same year a new federally funded program (CETA) that allowed the hiring of two low-income aides was initiated at Quilcene. Under federal guidelines these aides were paid higher hourly wages than the secretaries who had each been there since the fall of 1972. The secretaries felt this to be unfair, so they reluctantly decided to take the matter up with the school board. During the course of their negotiations, which took place in regular, public school board meetings, their salaries were discussed openly and even printed in the newspaper. The article listed their names, positions, current salaries, amounts requested, and projected salaries (to two decimal points) if granted! The secretaries were "put down" by the board and embarrassed by the publicizing of their salaries; moreover, the negotiation results were mixed. Although some increase in hourly wages was given, at least one of the women had her vacation days rearranged so that she ended up with an actual decrease in pay.

Schools are legally bound to give teachers notification of rehiring for the upcoming year by mid-April of the current year. Noncertified staff members, however, are treated less thoughtfully in this regard. In August, 1975, a bus driver who had worked for the school for a number of years still did not know if she would have a job in the fall. Each summer the teachers' aides do not know until late August if they will be rehired. With the exceptions of the head secretary and the custodians, all "classified" (noncertified) positions are dropped at the end of school in June and must be filled again in August. In the fall of 1975, the school adopted a salary schedule for noncertified employees, largely in response to the secretaries' negotiations the previous year.

Firing procedures as well are considerably easier with noncerts than with certified personnel. The school board is extremely reluctant not to renew a teacher's contract. Administrators and school board members often lament the difficulty involved in removing a teacher whom they judge incompetent. A man who had taught in Brinnon was not rehired for 1972-73, ostensibly because of lower enrollment in the school; and in 1975, the administrators and school board members were still concerned lest he sue for reinstatement if they hired anyone else. Rather than risk such an ordeal they decided to hire two aides to handle their larger enrollment for the 1975-76 school year.

Firing a noncert is considerably easier. Quilcene's cook during the 1960s was not rehired because, it is said, her continued employment would have necessitated the district's buying a retirement plan for her. Instead they simply hired someone else when school started up in the fall. In the fall of 1973, the library aide was not rehired for unstated reasons. The woman had undergone a major personal tragedy, and was reputed to have difficulty with "discipline" (as did the entire school that year); but her stature in the Local community was extremely high. Within the school, though, her lack of certification consigned her to low status and noncert treatment. The divergences in within-school status between certified staff and classified staff are manifest in the superintendent's patronizing remark to a Local businessman when the latter received his vocational certification: "Well, I guess we'll have to call you mister now." The businessman was one of the most respected mechanics in Quilcene, operated the Texaco Gas Station, and was Zone Chairman of Lions International I-19 that year. Like the library aide, his stature in the Local community was very high.

Male and Female

Another jesting remark can act as a bridge between our discussions of status differentials and the importance of sex. The two are not unrelated in Quilcene schools.

> The secretary and I were sitting in the ex-superintendent's empty office, and she was giving me some information on the organization of the school. She was listing the superintendent's duties, and in summing up, she laughingly mused "Hmmm, now what else do I do?" Just then a teacher came in and said, "Why don't you apply for the superintendent's job?" We all laughed as the teacher left. (Field Notes, 1975.)

The reasons it was funny to contemplate the secretary applying for the superintendent's job had to do with her noncert status and her sex, not her capacity to do the job.

All administrators at Quilcene Schools are male. All their secretaries are female. No woman has direct authority over any man. The only mid-level female supervisor (the Head Cook) supervises only women. Women teachers, with their higher, overall status as certified staff members, have a diffuse and undefined authority over all noncerts. But by and large, men direct the activities of other men and women. The Quilcene school board, another power locus, was composed of four men and one woman. Brinnon's school board, in contrast, had two women and one man for the first three years of the Experimental Schools project.

There are a number of dimensions to the matter of sex roles in the school: some types of classroom subject matter are deemed appropriate only for male or for female teachers; some occupations are considered suitable for one sex or the other; differences of administrative access and decision-making exist; and different treatments are accorded the two sexes. Children coming to school daily cannot miss the messages about men and women contained in the school social structure.

Americans will all be familiar with the folk differentiation between "boys' subjects" and "girls' subjects." "Everybody knows" that boys are good at math and science and girls are good at English and spelling, in the academic spheres; and in the vocational sphere, boys should prepare to be mechanics or welders and girls should prepare to be homemakers. These are elements of folk knowledge that were shared by school personnel during our enculturation as well. It is certainly true that many of Quilcene's school personnel are now aware that such a flat, sex-stereotyped dichotomy between the sexes is inaccurate, but the school, by the example it sets, still encourages young people to comply with the traditional divisions. In Quilcene High School, women teach secretarial courses, girls' physical education, English, home economics, and vocational cooking. The (female) librarian also tutors in reading. Men teach math, science, boys' physical education, wood shop, welding, social studies, music, art, and one English course. In connection with the ES project, improvements in and additions to the curriculum have occurred in the areas of vocational education, basic reading skills, and environmental education, so most high school courses have been affected. But the subjects are still taught exclusively by people of the "correct" sex. The "regularities" remain the same. In other words, though the curriculum has been changed, the "hidden curriculum" (Gearing et al., 1973) still teaches traditional spheres for males and females.

Closely related to the sexual division along academic lines is the traditional occupational division on the basis of sex. Women can be cooks and secretaries, and men can be mechanics and welders. The school reinforces this traditional stereotype, though in some respects the Quilcene schools are really quite "progressive" in this area. For instance, in urban schools women have only recently been hired as bus drivers and custodians, whereas Quilcene has had a majority of women bus drivers for years and at least one female custodian since 1968. It is worthwhile to add that jobs that the school provides to students (helpers of various sorts including teachers' aides, custodial aides, and kitchen aides) reflect the school's avant-garde adult hiring pattern. Girls and boys both work as custodial aides in Quilcene High School, and both work in the kitchen. But children in Quilcene School never see a woman in an administrative position; they never see a woman supervising men.

In 1973-74, a new male custodian was hired at the same wages paid a woman who had worked as a custodian at Quilcene since 1968. When questioned about this by other school personnel, the school board said that they felt they had to take inflation into account when they hired the new custodian (though one is left to wonder why inflation spared the woman).

Our interest here is in the school as a major social reality from which children and young people construct their views of the world. In the school, women are clustered in the low-paying, low-status jobs and men predominate in the high-paying, high-status jobs (see Table 4). This discussion describes what exists, not what is necessarily consciously planned, arranged, or valued in the school. The sexual differentiation is an important element in the "hidden curriculum." These facts of school social structure are consistent: predictions about the nature of the social world can safely be made on the basis of the criteria of sex and certification. Children's ideas of what life opportunities are possible and what ones are impossible are influenced by this reality with which they are confronted daily for 12 years or more.

Table 4: Number of Quilcene School Employees by Certification, Sex and School Year

School Year	Certification by Sex			
	Certified		Non-Certified	
	F	M	F	M
1972-73	8	15	13	3
1973-74	10	13	12	3
1974-75	10	15	13	3

Social organizational facts of school administration stress two things: status differences and sex differences. Significant differences in the treatment of certified versus noncertified staff members and differences in "men's" and "women's" work are clearly visible in the everyday running of the school. High status within the school requires certification and maleness. These implicit and pervasive messages cannot fail to influence the children's constructions of reality.

CHAPTER 10: KIDS IN CLASSROOMS

Set apart to some degree from the organizational structure described in Chapter 9, there exists a universe of students and teachers interacting within closed classrooms. This universe has traditionally been described and perceived as the only really relevant universe within the school. This is where "learning" is designated as taking place, where knowledge is transmitted from "those who know" to those who do not.

This chapter examines classrooms throughout the school as social systems, viewing the students as active participants to the same degree as the teachers. We have been interested in the social structural features of human organization in these classrooms. We have observed the interaction among students and between students and teachers, and we have noted certain commonalities that transcend the teaching philosophies of particular teachers. In the following pages we discuss the importance of age-grading, of sex, and of time as organizational features in the classroom. The discussion of time leads to an examination of the interaction patterns found in the school. We draw attention to analogies between school and work as we discuss power, equity, and the tension between authoritarian and democratic modes. The last section discusses competition and cooperation in the school.

Grades

In order to enroll a child in kindergarten, a parent must present a copy of the child's birth certificate as proof of the child's proper age. If the child's birthday falls after October 14, the child is not eligible for that age-grade and must wait until the following year. Exceptions to this rule are occasionally made, but considerable parental pressure is required, as well as the agreement of the principal, the school board, and the teacher, and the child's successful performance on a battery of cognitive and affective tests.

> Throughout the school board meeting, a small group of young women sat quietly, holding babies on their laps, waiting in apparent nervous tension. Finally the board arrived at the agenda item for questions from the citizens. A young mother in the center of the small group raised her hand. She blushed, unused to speaking in public.

> "I would like my little girl to be enrolled in kindergarten with her friends, but her birthday falls too late in the year and I am told there is a board policy preventing it."
>
> The school board chairman responded in a gentle but firm tone of voice common to administrators everywhere who are confronted with a request to bend rules: "I'm afraid there is a policy on this. We recognize your desire to keep your child with her friends, but if we can't hold to our policies, we might as well save our time and not make them."
>
> "But," the woman countered, "I know for certain that at least one person has gotten around this requirement. Isn't there a test she can take which will show her readiness for kindergarten?"
>
> "Well, yes, there is, but she'd have to be taken to Port Townsend...," as though this 50-mile round trip were not taken by every person in Quilcene at least once a week. In the end the board acquiesced and the child was enrolled in kindergarten with the age-grade she had been with all of her life. (Field Notes, 1974.)

Once a child has been classified as a member of a particular age-grade, he or she generally remains with the same group of children through 12 years of schooling. Even if the child moves, his or her classification remains the same in the next school. Teachers and parents are extremely reluctant to "hold a child back" at the end of a school year, should the child be unable to "keep up with" other children of the same age. In Quilcene the final decision rests with the parents, who must agonize over the possibly traumatic effects of their decision on their child. Separating children from their age-mates is seen by teachers and parents as a very serious step, one to be pondered at length.

In most cultures, such a concern that children associate with other children their own age is rare. Indeed, elsewhere older children are usually accompanied by younger siblings whose care is their responsibility. But in Quilcene each elementary age-grade has a separate classroom and considerable effort is expended by adults to minimize interaction among the age-grades. Adults maintain that older children bully, trick, and corrupt younger children while younger children imitate and bother older children. So each grade has a separate classroom (usually), recesses are arranged to minimize interaction among children of very different ages, and at lunch time children of one age-grade must sit together. From the child's perspective, age takes on a very significant meaning; another child's age (indeed, birthday) signifies whether or not an ongoing day-to-day relationship is possible. Classifying people by age is a clear and unequivocal part of a child's reality.

Even in Brinnon, where there are only two classrooms for eight grades, age-grading is still very much apparent. Children of one age-grade sit in the same row; rather than separate classes, the children have separate rows.

As a child progresses through the grades, the requirement (decreed by the school) for such rigid age-grading is gradually relaxed. By junior high school (grades 7 and 8), students are occasionally grouped by subject matter. Seventh and eighth graders take shop, art, and home economics together. Their lunch period is now with the high school students, who are allowed to sit wherever they like in the cafeteria. The junior high sports program includes both grades.

By high school, a student has considerably more latitude in determining his or her school schedule. In addition to the required courses, there are electives which are theoretically open to everyone. High school students have the option to fraternize freely at lunch, in the library, at sports events and practices, and in extracurricular activities.

But they don't. They have associated with their age-mates throughout their schooling, and patterns of association and friendship have developed. Furthermore, the problem of scheduling electives in a small school often results in students of only one age-grade having access to a given elective in a given year. For instance, in 1973-74, there were 15 students in Spanish I, only three of whom were not in tenth grade.

As we will show in our discussion of extracurricular events (Chapter 11) the lessened emphasis on age-grading in the formal curriculum is more than offset by the assumption of age-grading in matters like student council, class rings, class officers, and class functions of various kinds.

The school's emphasis on age-grading is congruent with the cultural patterns that surround it. In Quilcene, age continues to be a potential basis for friendship and association throughout life; classrooms reflect this reality and nurture it. Indeed, many vocal community members feel strongly that children should be in self-contained classrooms with their age-mates.

> Four of us were sitting together at the Annual Homemakers' Fashion Show, when the subject came up.
>
> "Have you signed the petition yet?"
>
> "What petition?"
>
> "We're circulating a petition against combined classes. I just don't think it's right to have two grades in one class. Neither class can get adequate attention. And the early grades are so important for later school success."
>
> "Well, I'll sure sign that. How many signatures do you have? Do you need any help?" (Field Notes, 1973.)

In the spring of 1975, a group of citizens in Brinnon (which has four grades in each classroom) organized to foster improvements in the school, and one of their primary concerns was the lack of age-grading in the combined classes.

Girls and Boys

A second pervasive social organizational feature in the classroom is that of sex. Teachers address their classes as "boys and girls," pit boys against girls in class contests and games, choose a boy as captain of one team and a girl as captain of another team, and organize a boys' line and a girls' line to the bathroom, recess, lunch, or other activities outside the classroom. And the children divide themselves into single-sex groups. In the early grades, where the teachers maintain some control over seating arrangements, boys and girls are often interspersed to prevent the talking and giggling that goes on when boys sit with boys and girls with girls. There is an institutionalized antagonism between the two groups, males and females. In the fifth grade (1974-75), the students wanted to have a "person of the week." The original plan was to have a single person of the week, but the boys maintained that the girls constituted a majority and that no boys would ever be elected person of the week. It was therefore necessary to have two "persons of the week," one of each sex.

By high school, students themselves tend to divide every classroom by sex. This sexual segregation, like age-grading, does not simply represent an institutional bias; it also reflects the adult patterns in the town. Men work all day and often leave home at night to go to the cafe, tavern, or a meeting. Women spend their days with other women, by and large. Thus the children see men and women leading very different lives, separate from one another in the community, and such cultural molding continues in the school. Teachers say, "Let's have a girl read" or "Let's have a boy read";* "The girls are quieter today"; or "The girls can use these restrooms because they don't make a big mess like the boys" (in fact, there is little difference in messes). Comments on the stereotypical nature of girls and of boys (e.g., "Boys will be boys," "Isn't she a nice little lady," "Girls are better in English than boys," "Boys are a real problem") are heard continually in the school environment. Such expectations on the part of adults inevitably affect a child's construct system. Indeed, they serve as self-fulfilling prophecies. Many of the cultural expectations about male and female behavior are reinforced in the classrooms.

It is important to note that teachers are no more "at fault" here than most adults. Although they differ on many matters, the school personnel and the community members share similar expectations concerning male and female behavior. Furthermore, teachers are as much victims of this circular self-perpetuating system as are the students. Teachers, like students, base their world views on the reality of which they are a part. The students do fulfill certain sex-stereotyped behaviors. After all, they've been subject to pressures to conform to their traditional sex roles for five years before they even start school, and they continue to be subject to the variety of pressures--peer group, parental, media--that any culture brings to bear on people to maintain its stability.

It is illuminating to watch the interactions between any teacher and same-sex and opposite-sex students. The male science teacher and his male students appear much more at ease with each other than the same teacher and his female students. The male students are much more alert and interested in the class than are the female students. Questions addressed to the class are almost always answered by male students, and male students are more likely to ask questions of the teacher than are female students. Girls stare vacantly into space, passing the time.

Compare this to the English teacher and her interactions with her students. The boys lounge in the back of the room, uninterested in the proceedings. The girls engage in lively discussion, answering questions readily, and asking them as well. The relationships between the teacher and her female students are generally warm, affectionate, and mutually responsive. Her relationships with the boys seem marked by reserve and caution on her part and almost surly distance on their part. Significantly, the principal was worried by her inability to "get along with" the boys; no mention was made of the science teacher's inability to "get along with" the girls.

---

*All quotations from teachers in the body of the text are from 1975 Field Notes.

Factors contributing to the distance between these two young, attractive teachers and their opposite-sex students include the cultural taboo on any kind of sexual relationships between a teacher and his or her students, and students' desires to fulfill the cultural ideal of what is male and what is female (being good in science or English, respectively). That the boys are not trying to learn in their English class and that the girls are not trying to learn in their science class is obvious. The stereotyping of subjects according to sex is a barrier to the free flow of knowledge and skills among the students.*

Sexual stereotyping within the adult work setting, however, seems a more potent force affecting students' occupational and interactional predilections. Students inevitably look to the adult world that surrounds them to make predictions about what they will do as adults, and how they will behave. Administrators (men) direct the activities of secretaries (women). Women are the cooks and men are the mechanics. Men teach science and women teach English. This is the reality out of which order must be inferred. Constructs that must be stated in verbal terms, such as "Girls act like ladies," are perhaps less vital, less ingrained than constructs that are learned by consistency, experience, and predictive adequacy. Actual, visible social relations carry more punch than do verbal admonitions.

Time, Work and Power: A Microcosm

"Time" constitutes the third mode for structuring social relations in the classroom. It is, on the one hand, the quintessential process; and yet it is an integral part of the structuring of social interaction in America. Time acts as a nexus between structure and process; it unifies the two.

---

*See Gearing et al. (1973) for further discussion of such barriers in schools.

A concern with time is ubiquitous in all classrooms in Quilcene. Children are to use their time well; they are to plan their use of time carefully; they are not to waste time; they are to be on time. These same admonitions are often leveled at adults as well, but children in the classrooms hear the message continually.

In the earliest grades, the notion that there are different kinds of institutionalized time is presented ("It's clean-up time. Play time's over."). As the student progresses through the grades, the time use vocabulary changes to differentiate between various kinds of "work time" and a student's "own time." In school, a student's "own time" is inevitably contingent on finishing the work assigned for that period of time. In the elementary grades a "class schedule" prominently displayed in each classroom is followed with varying degrees of servitude. In the upper grades, students have their own schedules and move from classroom to classroom. Students' time is planned, scheduled, given, and taken away by teachers. The students are expected to learn to "use their time wisely." One teacher tells students, "We can't afford to waste time." Another teacher admonishes pupils, "You've got six minutes before recess to get that done." A third says, "Let's work for about 15 minutes on that." The message being presented is that people are expected to coordinate speed with care in order to finish in an allotted time. Time is a culturally legitimate structuring device within people's lives, and school hammers this home hour by hour.

The teacher's capacity to give and withhold time is a major source of power and coercion. The teacher has the authority to give students "their own time" when they finish their work in the allotted time or cooperate in some other way, and to rescind time (e.g., staying in at recess, lunch time, or after school). Much of the teacher's interaction with the students involves structuring time use.

This fascination with and attention to time is particularly interesting, given the oft-noted fact that time is more important and has more meaning for Americans than for most peoples. The school certainly does its share in perpetuating time consciousness. One is moved to wonder why Americans are particularly fascinated with time. The concern of Public Employees for efficiency and frugality has been noted. These are parallel concepts: efficiency implies adequate control of the use of time, whereas frugality implies adequate control of the use of resources. Our American attachment to "progress" has meant a devotion to increasing control of our environment. Can our relative success at controlling our environment derive in part from our successful control of our own use of time? Leach (1971:125) discusses a differentiation in the meaning of time as deriving from two basic human experiences: (a) that certain phenomena of nature repeat themselves; and (b) that life change is irreversible. Americans have "improved" on nature by adhering faithfully to the arbitrary repetitions of our clock and our calendar. Perhaps it is salient to look to the classroom for clues to the ubiquitousness of a concern for time.

Since childhood and adolescence are defined by Americans as a time of becoming, the processual nature of time is also manifest in the schools. The children change under the eyes of the teachers and administrators. Chapter 8 has discussed the human tendency to attempt to predict. It seems probable that an adult in a classroom full of children is in a situation where it is inherently difficult to make accurate predictions. Perhaps the prevalent use of time structuring is an attempt to create order out of chaos; to produce some predictable elements in a situation marked by process, change, and the inability to predict.

The ability to structure one's time is also very valuable in most adult work environments. But a classroom contains a number of other analogs to the adult work setting. Children get up about the same time as most American adults, go to school when adults go to work, and are urged to work hard, compete, and use their time wisely, just as adults are urged to do. An elementary teacher says, "...and that doesn't mean just make a mess either, I want some results." A junior high teacher says, "No, John, I want you to settle down and really work." Kindergartners are told, "I want you to find a job to do." Throughout school, whenever an idle child is observed, a task is suggested to that child.

We have discussed the pervasiveness of age-grading, both in the school and out, as an organizational principle. But age-grading also has ramifications within the classroom in the interaction between the students and teachers. Children of a specific age are expected to behave in certain ways, and teachers continually announce these expectations, or simply operate with the expectations as assumptions. One teacher says, "We're in the sixth grade now. We should know how to write." Another says, "By the seventh grade they should be able to remember to bring paper and pencil."

Whole classes develop school-wide reputations as "good classes" or "bad classes." In a school the size of Quilcene's most students are known vaguely by most teachers, particularly within the elementary school or high school. Classes have even more visibility and exposure, since teachers compare their classes, try to prepare the next teacher for the class, and so on.

> "That eighth grade is really a bunch of losers! It's hard to get anything accomplished in there. I breathe a sigh of relief when that third period bell rings."
>
> "Yea, I know what you mean. These kids are really a bunch of culls." (Field Notes, 1974)

Teachers commonly state that different treatments are necessary in different classes, that different techniques and procedures work with different groups of children. This sense of group cohesion is transmitted to the children. The children are often addressed *en masse* (as "class," "gang," or "all you fifth graders") and sometimes punished together ("Anybody, *anybody*, messes around and that's it for the whole group.").

It is interesting to speculate on the students' awareness of group cohesion. From the adult perspective, the teachers should ideally be in charge at all times. Teachers run things, plan things, pass out favors and punishments, arrange trips, and are involved in a very wide variety of decision-making activities which directly affect the students. But this ideal of a kind of benevolent dictatorship is, in actuality, tempered considerably by the cohesion that age-grading (as a grouping mechanism) allows the students. Having 10-25 students as an integrated "enemy" is a rather formidable state of affairs, even when the students are only five years old! As it functions, the classroom organization provides the students with a working knowledge of the checks and balances that are so valued in our political system: the teacher is granted legitimate power and authority so long as he or she performs the culturally determined functions of a teacher. The cohesion and unity of the age-grade, however, provide a check against (culturally defined) deviation from the cultural expectation of what a teacher does.

There is no doubt that the teacher has considerable legitimate power within the classroom, even in the students' eyes. Nor is is there any doubt that the older the students get, the less arbitrary authority is granted to the teacher, and the more aware students become of age-grade cohesion as a power source. Student is to teacher as teacher is to principal.* In most everyday operations, the teachers subordinate themselves to the principal just as the students subordinate themselves to the teacher. But in both cases, all are aware that abuses can be countered by power based on group cohesion. Teachers can strike and students can subvert a teacher's authority in a wide variety of ways. If chaos reigns in the classroom the teacher loses, just as when strikes occur in the school the administration loses.

Howard Becker** talks about the contracts and negotiations that take place between students and teachers (e.g., "If I do X, can I do Y?"; or "We'll do X, if you'll do Y.") Sarason (1971), on the other hand, sees the class as having a constitution that is devised and implemented solely by the teacher. In Quilcene, both perspectives distort; Becker implies equality between teacher and students, and Sarason sees the relationship as basically authoritarian. A more accurate description of the situation in Quilcene's classrooms would focus on the tension between interaction modes characterized by equality and those characterized by authority. The students have ample opportunity to witness the American ambivalence between the two values. Since this tension marks both Public Employee and Local work situations (see Chapter 3), it can be cited as one more analogy between school and work.

Adults believe that teachers are in classrooms to teach students; but one of the most important functions the teacher performs, from a student's perspective, and one that contributes to the legitimacy of his or her authority, is the provision of observable equity within the classroom. The appearance of equity among students is pervasive in the classroom. The ability to create this appearance of equity is one of the essential ingredients that a teacher must possess in order to live up to the class's expectations. From the students' perspective, the teacher is a valuable social arbiter. For instance, second graders (1974-75) highly valued the role of "teacher's helper." The teacher ensured equal opportunity by drawing children's names from a hat; the children then got to choose the jobs they wanted in the order that their names were drawn. The sixth-grade teacher (1974-75) conscientiously chose students to be captains during recess ball games who had not been captains recently. From the perspective of a cohort of age-mates (and theoretical equals), the teacher is seen as an outsider--neutral and therefore fair. Teachers are likewise believed to be fair in the assignment of unpleasant jobs such as reading a report aloud first or making a speech. A departure from this consensually valued equity is immediately pointed out. The fact that teachers feel compelled to "right such wrongs" or explain them away indicates the general acceptance of equity as an ideal and the lack of straightforward authoritarianism. The school is characterized by universalism (Cohen, 1971); it thereby demonstrates to students the usefulness of a strong central authority (the teacher) in arbitration and equitable resource distribution, and the availability of power based on group cohesion.

---

*See Clinton (1975) for a parallel discussion of this phenomenon.

**Personal communication, 1975.

Cooperation and Competition

The cooperation that manifests itself in what we have called group cohesion can be contrasted with the pervasive emphasis on competition in the school. Both competition and cohesion are relevant to the group structures in which students are involved. Each student can be defined and structured into ever-larger groupings (in the same manner as an employee in a large bureaucracy), within which cooperation is required, and between which competition is required.* Within one class, the girls can be pitted against the boys in a spelling baseball game. The next minute, the whole class can be urged to function as a cooperative unit to "kill the sixth grade" in a soccer game. On still another level, the elementary students are expected to compete with the older students in lunchroom behavior. And finally, groups of students representing various age-grades within the school can be appealed to, as representatives of the whole school to outsiders or other schools.

---

*See C. Colfer (1975) for an explication of this bureaucratic and taxonomic characteristic.

The ability and desire to compete are considered (by adults) to be essential to adequate adult functioning. Children are therefore urged to compete with one another. Competition is seen as a desirable interaction mode to foster within children, who are believed to be naturally competitive ("seems within kids naturally...they like it"). One teacher "uses Eddie as competition for Holly." The following short quotes from a Port Townsend Leader article, which document a very heated discussion of sports during a school board meeting, illustrate community feelings on the subject:

> [A high school coach] went on to say that high school athletics is a chance for every player to participate and that to win in high school sports and to injure some other team members is not the main goal.
>
> [A community member] responded by saying, "I'd rather sit on the bench with a winner than play with a loser." [He] said he experienced a lot of failures, "but I have never learned to like it."
>
> [A second community member] said, "I said I would like [the coach] to produce a winner and that I would judge him by what he produced."
>
> [A third] said he felt the athletic program should be started at the elementary level when the fundamentals of competition and the eagerness to win should be learned. (Kirst, 1975.)

Under the aegis of the Experimental Schools project, the school has been in the process of individualizing. Various levels of reading materials, for instance, are available to students in the elementary grades. During reading period children read different books according to their reading level as determined by reading skills tests. In several classes, each child's level is displayed on the walls for all to see. One classroom is wallpapered with graphs and charts indicating the various levels of all the children in their various subjects. In another class, the three children who are particularly slow in reading have their page assignments listed separately from those of the vast majority of the class; the separate assignments are visible to all on the blackboard in front of the class. Individualism, in these instances, includes the publicizing of individual failures and successes. In place of the dream of failure at the blackboard mentioned by Henry (1965) is substituted the dream of failure on the charts.

Individualization, by encouraging the formation of subgroups of children within classes, functions to foster intra-class competition, and perhaps thereby to inhibit the growth of the solidarity that derives from age-grading. The great differences in skills and abilities that invariably exist within any given age-grade serve to dull the edge on competition. Some children will be less competitive than others; some will be too slow to participate meaningfully; some will be too quick to be challenged to compete. But when children are divided and grouped by skill, competition can be fostered among more children.

Competition is hardly new, and traditional forms still exist which include the entire class. There is the old-fashioned recital, there are questions addressed to the whole class which children compete to answer, and there are grades given out four times a year in addition to the daily, weekly, and mid-term tests, scores, and means for comparison and competition. There are sessions for reading aloud, there are oral reports; gold stars are awarded for excellence, good papers are put on the bulletin board, and so on.

> "Okay, class, let's play 'Round the World.' We'll do state capitals, okay?"
>
> The room immediately livened up. Children who had been bordering on sleep looked around and twitched with anticipation.
>
> "We'll start with Pete."
>
> The boy nearest the door at the back left of the room got up and stood by the next child's desk in front of him.
>
> "Capital of...Hawaii!" The teacher yelled the state.
>
> "Honolulu!" the two yelled almost at once, though Pete was slightly faster, or perhaps louder. Pete moved on to the next desk down the row. The defeated student leaned hard back in his chair and scowled.
>
> "Maine!" yelled the teacher.
>
> "Portland!" yelled Pete.
>
> "Wrong," howled a student in the front row.
>
> "Out of line," rapped the teacher, pointing at the miscreant.
>
> "Augusta!" screeched Nancy from the seat beside Pete.
>
> "OK, Nancy, go," said the teacher.

> "Nyah, Pete, sit in a girl's seat!" said a boy. in the next row in a stage whisper. Pete sneered at him as he sat in Nancy's vacated seat while she went to stand beside the next desk.
>
> "Quiet down, Smith," said the teacher. "Okay, Nancy and Toni, are you ready...Texas!" (Field Notes, 1974).

The universally found requirement that all children do the same thing at the same time probably derives in part from this competitive aspect of schooling. Despite the fact that different children are now allowed to progress at different speeds and to use different books (within the same subject), the essence of competition has been maintained. The children can still be compared, measured, graded against one another; and they can still measure themselves against one another.

Our examples to this point have dealt with grade school children. By high school, most of the students no longer compete for the school-defined goal of excellence in scholarship. Students compete, instead, for popularity or for status. The students' vitality and interest in cheerleading competitions and the dating behavior of their friends is in marked contrast to their typical boredom and ennui about test results and grades. Students are very involved in the "mine is better than yours" notion discussed by Harris (1969), but they are not concerned about the gold stars the teachers pass out.

The teacher's authority is considered to be based on his or her success in competition. The teacher knows more than the students and therefore deserves to be in charge, but as the students become older, they present an ever increasing threat to the teacher's authority.

In the community, adolescents can have some prestige, they can be respected, and they are sometimes given responsibility. But in school, where different (school-defined) goals obtain, adolescents are treated like children. They are not trusted with any responsibility; they are guarded, suspected, and generally held in low esteem.

> "A 15-year old girl knocked on the door to the teacher's lounge. After several knocks, a male teacher got up, opened the door, and looked blankly at her. She asked if Mr. Johnson were there. The teacher said "yes" and closed the door in her face. All the teachers laughed. After several minutes, Mr. Johnson, who had heard the interchange, finished what he was doing and got up to find out what she wanted. (Field Notes, 1975.)

From the perspective of school personnel, adolescents know very little (since they know less of the formal curriculum than teachers) and should therefore accept the teacher's authority. The teacher has a vested interest in defining knowledge as what he or she knows.

The adolescent student, on the other hand, has a vested interest in defining knowledge (or at least his or her concerns) as outside the realm of school. In school, only low status is available; whereas in the community, away from school, much higher status can be earned. This situation leads to competition in the classroom between the students and the teacher to determine whose definition of knowledge will apply.

The teacher's commitment to his or her own definition of knowledge is not such a selfish one. Teachers come to Quilcene from a more urban setting where universalistic values are more widespread, where bureaucratic arrangements are more ubiquitous, and where academic achievements are more respected. They have the students' best interests at heart; but the divergence between students' and teachers' views of students' best interests is considerable.

CHAPTER 11: EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

In addition to the work (and boredom) of classroom activity, school provides students with opportunities to socialize with friends, to participate in activities, and to gain community-wide recognition and approval. Such opportunities exist primarily in the context of extracurricular activities. In communities without commercial entertainment, these activities provide valued recreation.

We begin this chapter by discussing the kinds of extracurricular activities available to students in Quilcene. We include two formal classes (band and journalism) in this discussion because they hold a position intermediate between curricular and extracurricular activity. We devote most of the chapter to a discussion of sports. Sports is the real "heart and soul" of extracurricular activities and of community entertainment; it represents the most vital link between community and school in Quilcene.

Kinds of Activities

Elementary school students spend most of their time each day in traditional classrooms and do not have access to formal extracurricular activities. They play games on the playground and in the gym, and some participate in parent-organized activities like Little League and ballet lessons. School-organized "fun" doesn't begin until junior high school, when students become eligible for participation in student government (both Student Council and class office) and sports. As they enter high school, students can join clubs (such as pep club and photography club) and enroll in band or journalism classes.

Extracurricular activities impinge noticeably on everyday classroom activities. Student Council meets during school hours, as do the class officers. Athletes frequently are excused from classes because of the distances they must travel to get to their "away" games (often over 100 miles). It is striking how frequently students are absent from class because of legitimate extracurricular activities. An examination of these activities is important in order to fully understand the realities students must face.

Extracurricular activities serve as an escape from the enforced stillness and the monitored conversation of the classroom; keep students in school who would otherwise enter the working world as menial, unskilled labor; allow teachers to gratefully part with students, some of whom cause trouble in the

The previous numbered page in
the original document was blank.

classroom; and provide the community with entertainment in the form of lavish sports extravaganzas. Although not formally recognized by school personnel, such functions appear crucial to the orderly operation of the school and probably compensate for the resulting disruption of classroom routine, the burden of chaperone and sponsor duties, and the problems that arise in scheduling various functions.

Increased pressure to keep students enrolled until the age of 16 or until graduation has been accompanied by an increase in school-initiated extracurricular activities. This may help to ease the resulting tension between authoritarianism and democracy that we have seen on the administrative and classroom levels. If philosophies of education encouraged authoritarianism, or if students who did not like school could leave, perhaps extracurricular activities might not be so crucial.

Journalism and Band. A discussion of journalism and band classes will provide a suitable entry to other extracurricular activities. The English teacher has traditionally had responsibility for the Golden Quil (the school newspaper) and the Ranger (the yearbook) and this responsibility is fulfilled within the context of a class in journalism. The availability of the school paper and yearbook for student and staff perusal creates a commonality of purpose between students and teacher that is missing in the more traditional classrooms. Students and teacher share the responsibilities of meeting deadlines, writing stories, taking pictures, and doing a variety of tasks essential to the production of the publications. This shared responsibility creates a greater degree of camaraderie and rapport between students and teacher than is normally found in most classes.* Journalism classes include fewer orders from the teacher; the teacher circulates around the room checking progress, helping out here and there, but seldom demanding anything. Students are free to move around (tasks have places rather than students); and they seem to try harder, to be more involved in the success of their venture.

Band provides another nonstandard type of classroom organization for basically the same reasons. As sports lovers, the students, administration, and the community require a band. Since the band is an important support organization to the sports events, its successes and failures are extremely public. Teachers and students are held jointly responsible for the provision of music at appropriate times.

---

*Bossert (1974) discusses the consequences of different task orientations on the structure and interaction in a classroom. His work was with elementary students, but the same principle appears to operate in Quilcene High School.

During the course of this research, the only high school teachers to elicit heated community controversy by their actions were the band teacher and the coaches. Quilcene's music teacher is committed to teaching music as a discipline (including its history, theory, and great works). He views the band as a none-too-effective means to teach students about music. The students, on the other hand, want a good band but express minimal interest in music as a discipline. The teacher's approach to music requires the more traditional classroom organization; whereas band students expect the classroom organization ordinarily found when students and teacher share a common, immediate goal (in this case, a good band to play at sports events).

These different expectations and goals foster a situation in which conflict abounds. The teacher's expectations derive from his commitment to an intellectual life within his chosen discipline. Students' expectations derive from their parents' experiences and from the general assumption that a band is essential to sports events.

Student Government. Student government is a universal feature of American schools. Quilcene School has a Student Council consisting of about one-sixth of the total junior and senior high enrollment. Each year a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, and parliamentarian are elected by the students. A primary election is held to ensure that students will have a choice between only two candidates. A week later, the final election is held in the lunchroom. Prior to the election, the candidates give speeches to the assembled student body in the gym. There is much campaigning with signs, buttons, and hoopla. Another special assembly is held to announce the successful candidates, who then make speeches of acceptance and gratitude for the opportunity they have been given. Student government is intentionally modeled after the adult American electoral system to allow students to become accustomed to our political system and to learn to successfully operate within it, both as voters and as candidates.

It may be erroneous to believe that students who participate in the forms of democracy will be able to function adequately within the democratic system. Students participate in student government in good faith, believing it to be an acceptable model for making their wishes known and for changing and improving things. In reality, they are absolutely powerless to effect changes of any significance.

Student government has little effect on the actual running of the school. The sphere of student government includes ritualistic adherence to an abbreviated version of Roberts' Rules of Order; practice in voting, making motions, and seconding them; decisions on how to raise money for various student projects and how to allocate it to student goals; and decisions about which group can use which fund-raising techniques in what instances. These functions are not insignificant, but neither are they relevant to the lives of the students. They involve housekeeping chores that could be accomplished equally well by the principal in much less time. Indeed, the only time the Student Council is allowed to make decisions is when the adult administrative structure agrees with, or is unaffected by, their decisions (such as the decision to allow the pep club to spend $14 to buy new cheerleader pompoms). In 1972-73, an attempt by the Student Council to create and implement a student code of conduct was repeatedly ignored by the school board, whose approval was necessary for its implementation. The code was subsequently changed to agree with adult wishes about the appropriate behavior of students in school.

Students are given the ritual symbols of the political process and urged to participate enthusiastically, but the oft-touted results are not forthcoming. The students "do everything right" and accomplish nothing. Would such experiences not disillusion students with democratic forms of government? After all, one tends to generalize from one's own experience of the world and to predict events based on what one has experienced.

In the spring of 1975, the baseball team had won enough games to go to the state finals. Team members and the student body wanted the team to go a day early and stay in a hotel in order to be rested for the game. The principal refused permission for three reasons: his fear that the students would drink (a perennial and somewhat justified adult fear), his disbelief in their need to go early, and the expense. Although the Student Council moved to change this decision and students attended a school board meeting to argue their case, the school board and the superintendent made an issue of "standing behind" the principal. Despite the students' cohesive stand, the administration won. Regardless of who was "right" (and there was drinking at the state tournament), the lesson was clear: the Student Council has little or no power to influence affairs. Political process and action inevitably involve power; and that vital aspect is missing in student government.

Besides the Student Council, each class elects its own officers. Age-grading now takes on a more open, political aspect. Officers plan and execute the various activities and functions that each class participates in, such as spaghetti dinners, the junior-senior prom, and the senior picnic. The prime purpose of the class activities is apparently to raise funds for the execution of events that are traditionally associated with a particular class. During Homecoming Week, for example, students volunteer to be sold as slaves for a day. Another function of these activities is increased school-community interaction. The annual spaghetti dinner is one that many community members attend. Here they see what their (and their neighbors' and relatives') children are accomplishing at school, how they behave, how they get along.

Like adult women's organizations, the Student Council and class activities include manipulation of very small amounts of money. Money and power are believed by Americans to be closely intertwined. Perhaps the minimal amount of power given to the students derives from their inability to muster any significant amount of money. Although money is given to the school principally on the basis of student attendance, the adults have a firm grip on the use and distribution of that money.

Within the school, students are considered to be powerless and irresponsible. The structure of the school forces that definition on students, and the legitimate "political" activities of students (as defined by adults) are congruent with this conception.

It is worthwhile to note that the Public Employee emphasis on respect for authority and education equates maturity or adulthood with internal curbs on the spontaneity of youth. From this perspective, a mature adolescent is studious and cooperative. Local values, with their emphasis on independence and a strong "do your own thing" ethic, see adulthood involving self-determination and gumption. From the Local perspective, a mature adolescent is manly or womanly and well on the road to earning a living or starting a family. Local boys, particularly, chafe under the school's imposed definition of students as powerless and irresponsible, while in the Local community they already have access to responsibility and respect.

Clubs. The only remaining extracurricular activities besides sports are the clubs, which are usually closely affiliated with sports. Lettermen's club (which includes some girls) and the all-girl pep club support school athletics by fund-raising and by the provision of "school spirit." Even the photography club gets involved in sports by taking pictures at games for publication in the county newspaper.

Since extracurricular activities, unlike classrooms, involve voluntary participation, students see that they have some choice in how they group--though they must group in some way, whether by age, sex, or interest. They also see that they do not have certain choices: girls do not play football, boys are not cheerleaders. They see that certain memberships or affiliations carry more prestige than others: being on the girls' basketball team is far below being a cheerleader.* Being on the varsity basketball team carries considerably more prestige than being on the junior varsity.

The element of choice is a significant one, though. The students see that by grouping and determining common goals and interests they can accomplish something of their choice. Teachers are willing to teach something (e.g., photography) or to sponsor an activity for a group that they would not be so ready to do for an individual. A fund-raising activity that would be impossible for one person to organize and provide becomes possible in a group context where tasks and responsibility can be shared.

This same grouping behavior is evident throughout American society. Surely the school experience substantiates the notion "united we stand, divided we fall," both in the classroom and in extracurricular activities. In many societies, grouping of individuals involves little individual choice; one is typically born into whatever groups one is a member of. With the advent of extracurricular activities students see that different groups (or lifestyles) are possible, and that they can exercise some choice in determining which they wish to join.

This in no way minimizes the actual barriers to free choice mentioned earlier. Girls and boys and school personnel still have assumptions about sex differences that inhibit students from freely exercising choices, and age-grade expectations operate in similar fashion. But an understanding that human beings can group for common purposes is an important concept that is readily available to students in the school.

---

*Almost every girl who had been on the basketball team in 1974-75 tried out for cheerleading the following year, indicating preference for being a cheerleader over being on the team, since these two activities conflict.

Sports

The real heart of extracurricular activities is the sports program. In Quilcene's 1975 yearbook, for instance, 20 pages were devoted to sports as contrasted with a total of 18 pages devoted to all other extracurricular activities. Included in those 18 pages were the activities of the pep club and the band, both of which are intimately connected with sports activities. This is an accurate reflection of community, school, and student interests.

We begin our discussion of sports with its manifestations at different grade levels. We then describe the locally perceived functions of the sports program both for the individual and for the community, citing the opinions of some scholars. But sports also plays the role of a symbolic dramatization of culturally appropriate sex roles. We examine the notion of the "hidden curriculum" and apply it to basketball games as a case in point, looking in turn at girls' and boys' basketball. A consideration of cheerleading ends the chapter.

Sports in Grade School. Until third grade, students spend their recess and physical education time manipulating playground equipment or playing games like tag or hopscotch. Occasionally, the children are tested for "readiness" for team sports, but most activity involves smaller groups of children engaged in very informal sorts of play. (However, in 1975-76 a male teacher began teaching the third grade and immediately began organizing soccer games.)

Playground activity in the early grades, if unorganized, tends to include running around, chasing classmates, climbing, and throwing things for boys; and hopscotch and jumprope for girls. The jumprope songs show interesting aspects of children's culture. Here are two* that speak of little girls' perceptions of sex roles and of authority relations:

---

*Recorded from Michelle Yarr and Megan Colfer (Quilcene first graders).

1. Johnny over the ocean
Johnny over the sea
Johnny broke a bottle
And blamed it on me
I told Ma
Ma told Pa
Johnny got a lickin'
So, ha ha ha
How many lickin's
Did he get?
One, two, three...

2. Down in the valley
Where the green grass grows
There sat Susie
Sweet as a rose.
She sang, she sang,
She sang so sweet
Along came Johnny
And kissed her on the cheek.
How many kisses
Did she get?
One, two, three...

"Pa's" superordinate position over "ma," both of their superordinate positions over the children, and considerable antagonism toward the opposite sex are clearly stated in the first (and reinforce existing culture patterns). And the proper "nature" of little girls is manifest in the second: sweet, aesthetic, and loved for it. Both underline the girl's passivity in the face of actor/aggressor types; both underline the cultural demand that little boys be aggressive and in command of situations.

During these periods of relatively free play, teachers' interest in the students' activity is largely centered on matters of socialization. Teachers admonish students constantly: "play fair," "be kind," "be a good sport," "don't fight," "be polite," "be careful," and so on. Much playground interaction among children is overtly and indiscriminately aggressive, competitive, and acquisitive, by adult standards; and teachers consistently encourage the children's adoption of adult standards.

The initiation of team sports around the fourth grade is avidly awaited by many children. In the second and third grades, boys are already aware of the importance of sports to men, and they collect baseball, football, and basketball cards from packages of gum, seek association with high school athletes, and attempt to persuade their parents to drive by the athletes' homes. The commitment of sports statistics to memory is a common male elementary preoccupation.

By grades four and five, the children (particularly the boys) are well into team sports. It is difficult to say whether the students have mastered the cultural rules of appropriate behavior and are therefore "ready" to play team sports (as teachers seem to think), or if the initiation of formal organized team sports is instrumental in channeling aggressive, competitive, and acquisitive behavior into acceptable, culturally defined areas.

At recess time or in place of physical education the whole class often engages in a team sport such as soccer, softball, or volleyball-baseball. Teachers divide the class into teams or choose captains who perform this function, and the teacher functions as pitcher or as referee. Games are sometimes arranged between classes, as well; in such instances, one teacher serves as referee. The students consider this a questionable practice, since presumably the teacher favors his or her own class. Indeed, the other teacher sometimes expresses such concern in private; but no superordinate is available to provide the equity that a teacher can provide within the classroom.

The interest of adult males in the discovery of good athletes is evident in their supervision of the fifth and sixth graders. The principal watches some of these informal interclass sports events and judges the upcoming generation of high school athletes, happily commenting on this or that promising boy player. The coach laments the fact that in some schools organized basketball begins in the fourth grade, whereas in Quilcene it does not start until the seventh. Little adult interest is wasted on jumprope activity, despite the fact that considerable skill is involved in learning the variety of songs and jumping techniques. The principal never comes to watch the girls jump rope.

In junior high, boys have their first chance to participate in formal extracurricular sports teams, and four girls can become cheerleaders. Starting in 1974-75, a few junior high girls could also play on the newly formed girls' basketball team.* The major sports in Quilcene are football, basketball, baseball, and track for boys; and basketball and track (as of 1974-75) and cheerleading for girls.

Sports comes into its own in high school, though, where there are varsity and junior varsity teams, where some players and cheerleaders become minor celebrities, and where games take on a community-wide significance. No regular events in Quilcene draw as big a crowd as a varsity basketball game.

Rationale for Sports. Residents of Quilcene, no less than authorities on sports, cite many functions that sports activities are reputed to serve. The most obvious and widespread rationale for providing sports in schools is the physical well-being and health of participants. Since many of Quilcene's students are destined to become loggers, and since logging is an occupation where physical strength and the ability to coordinate efforts with other men and to react quickly are essential to survival, sports may well have a positive contribution to make to many of the athletes in terms of later activities in life. Insofar as physical strength is associated (Locally) with manhood, sports surely contribute to some students' self-confidence about their sexual identity.

---

*By administrative decree (and against the wishes of the team members and the coach), the girls' team was named the "Rangerettes."

Sports is also commonly reputed to yield other, more amorphous moral benefits. Sports writers mention the following results of participation in sports: "high ideals in amateur sport and the raising of American citizenship" (Cozens and Stumpf, 1970:67); "mastery of environment or self, social system, and of the supernatural" (Roberts, Arth, and Bush, 1970:385); competitiveness and aggression (Beisser, 1967:159; Ryan, 1958); and sportsmanship (Beisser, 1967:182-91; and many others).*

Blanchard reports on a Mormon group in New Mexico:

> The Mormon group sees the sport [basketball] as primarily a serious, though recreational, contest within which one receives a moral and spiritual education as well as a lesson in the realities of Western economic survival (1974:10).

He further notes the Mormon emphasis on the:

> importance of aggression and winning, the value of team effort and sportsmanship, and the spiritual significance of a healthy body and general wholesomeness (1974:9).

The same sentiments are expressed frequently in Quilcene. In Quilcene, sports is said to teach a person to act as part of a team, to subjugate his own chance for glory to the team effort, to compete with vigor, and to value winning. A belief is sometimes expressed that training rules (e.g., no drinking, no smoking, no late nights) contribute to a "moral" way of life for the players and set a good example for the other students. This facade may have some effect on children in the lower grades, whose direct access to athletes is minimal.

As noted earlier of extracurricular activities in general, the opportunity to participate in sports serves to encourage young people to stay in school. Many men in their twenties and thirties state that "the only thing that kept me in school was sports," and that same sentiment is often expressed by young men in school today. It is sometimes unclear whether people think sports is good because it keeps people in school or whether they think school should be tolerated in order to provide sports.

---

*Sage notes that "some coaches have puffed up their chests and squared their jaws and shouted to the high heaven that one of the greatest values of sports participation is promoting the development of such personality traits as courage, leadership, sportsmanship, and good character. Documentation for these assertions is scanty" (1970:199).

Coleman finds the same motivation in other parts of the country:

> If it were not for interscholastic athletics or something like it, the rebellion against school, the rate of dropout, and the delinquency of boys might be far worse than they presently are (1970:92).

Cozens and Stumpf suggest this same theme in their historical treatment of sports in schools:

> Since society virtually said to the schools, "Keep our boys and girls happy and out of mischief," opportunity was given to educational institutions to expose more young people to a program of sports than ever before (1970:71).

The role of the sports program in providing a sense of community is also expressly valued in Quilcene. That people from virtually all segments of the population attend the games is a very significant datum. Basketball games (and to a lesser degree other male sports) offer the only arena where the gap between Public Employees and Locals is effectively bridged and the community united. A basketball game provides a public demonstration of the often stated sentiment that "without a school we wouldn't be a community." When groups have organized to consolidate Quilcene's school with schools in neighboring towns, the majority of citizens have opposed the consolidation--many because of its ramifications on the sports program. As things now stand, about 30% of the male students can participate in the junior varsity and varsity basketball games and "be on the team." Citizens say that "in a large school, our boys wouldn't stand a chance." Another reason for opposing consolidation is the loss of recreation provided to the community by school sports.

Coleman discusses the importance of athletics in creating a sense of community:*

> Except in the very largest cities, a high school is a community or neighborhood institution....Communities, like schools without interscholastic games, have few common goals. They fight no wars, seldom engage in community rallies, and are rarely faced with such crises as floods or tornadoes that can engender a communal spirit and make members feel close to one another by creating

---

*Sage (1970:54), Henry (1965:190), Luschen (1970:94), and Beisser (1967:127) also discuss the importance of sports to community identity.

> collective goals. One of the few mechanisms by means of which this can occur is that of games or contests between communities... and these contests serve the purpose admirably. The community supports the team, and the team rewards the community when it wins. The team is a community enterprise, and its successes are shared by the community, its losses mourned in concert (1970:94-95).

Stone's point that "knowledge about and acquaintance with sport make Americans available to one another" (1970:405) may well have important potential as a cohesive element in the community, since (at least male) representatives of the different segments often have little else they can discuss amicably together.

People in Quilcene also believe that the sports program's success (in terms of wins and losses) has important ramifications on school finance. Passage of the levy each spring is seen as dependent on the success of the boys' basketball team. Although the relationship does not bear up under close examination, this common belief is significant in understanding the role of sports as a link between community and school.

The school as an institution is dominated by the Public Employee value system. Locals feel antagonism toward the values taught in the school. Given the belief that school financing (indeed, the school's survival) is largely dependent on the performance of the teams, and given the fact that most of the team members are Locals, the school appears to be dependent on the very students who have the most reason to be antagonistic to it.

Though Local athletes are little impressed with the universalistic dictates of the school, it is generally athletes who are subjected to the widest range of freedom-inhibiting rules of behavior (i.e., training rules). High school students commonly smoke (both marijuana and tobacco), drink, and stay out late on weekends; athletes are no exceptions. The visibility of athletes (as minor celebrities) and adult cultural prescription that athletes have a responsibility to "set a good example for the other students" mean that athletes' lapses create public controversy and discussion.

The school is then put in a bind. If it adheres to its universalistic principles ("you can't make exceptions," "you've got to teach them that a rule is a rule") and loses its star athletes, the teams' performance and thence, presumably, the school's financial standing will be affected. Alternatively, the school can forsake universalism for the pragmatic reality that dictates making exceptions for athletes. Tempering the control athletes appear to have over the school is their desire to participate in sports.

The popular belief that sports and finances are intimately related sometimes has interesting results for individual young men. One student who had been expelled two years earlier was allowed to return to school; some maintained he was allowed to return because of his excellence in basketball. Another good player was urged to remain in school an extra year (he was planning to finish in three years) "for the sake of the team."

Coaches in Quilcene, like superintendents, are centers of controversy. The school's official stance on sports emphasizes physical and moral benefits that allegedly derive from participation on teams: physical coordination and strength on the one hand, and the coordination of group efforts and good sportsmanship on the other. However, vocal community members want a winning team, and they focus on instilling aggression and a sense of competition among players. The coach, caught between these sometimes conflicting sets of goals, is also expected to ensure the good behavior of all team members. He is blamed without mercy for a bad season and for losses in which the margin of victory is slight.

> The superintendent, four board members, and three members of a self-appointed committee on sports crowded into the superintendent's office. A teacher who requested admission was refused. The committee was asking the board to relieve the head coach of further coaching responsibilities.
>
> "Look," said the spokesman for the committee, "I'm not suggesting he ain't a good teacher. All I'm interested in is getting a winning coach for the high school. How long has it been since these kids went to State? We think it's time for a change!" (Field Notes, 1975.)

The "Hidden Curriculum" of Basketball

We have discussed the significance of school sports for individuals and for the community, recounting the interpretations of community members and of scholars about the reasons for and functions of sports. But these interpretations strike us as insufficient to account for the passions that sports regularly arouse. We therefore present an analysis of the "hidden curriculum" of basketball. We chose this sport because basketball games are the arena in which the greatest community interest in and enthusiasm for the school are manifest. Basketball games are exciting and fun for almost everyone. They provide a nexus for all ages, both sexes, and all community segments to come together. Their centrality suggests that they have important lessons to teach young men and women (and the audience).

Tindall (1974) discusses the "hidden curriculum:"

> Adults in every society structure their behavior according to the premises of their culture, but these premises are rarely used as the conscious basis for such behavioral organization. The hidden curriculum in adult behavior is the presentation of lessons in the proper way to structure behavior according to appropriate cultural premises (1974:3).*

He goes on to discuss a particular tournament:

> The tournament was organized according to concepts which were educationally sound to the principal and the physical education teacher. These concepts were the explicit curriculum. But there was another set of lessons being enacted, a tacit set, which constituted the hidden curriculum of the tournament; lessons which communicated that men...can control other men (1974:4-5).

In our own frame of reference, people learn appropriate behavior by watching other people interacting and behaving rather than by being told how to behave. The fear (or even certainty) that this is true is expressed in the folk saying "do what I say, not what I do," often repeated to children and young people.

It would seem established by our discussion earlier in this section that male basketball games are extremely significant on a number of dimensions: personal growth and prestige of players, community-school relations, recreation, sense of community pride (or shame), and participation in the support organizations (e.g., cheerleaders, pep club, band). The players are indeed minor celebrities. Young boys want their autographs and ask their parents to drive past their houses. Men discuss the merits and failings of various players, thus gaining or losing prestige themselves insofar as they are related to the players. Young girls hope to attract team members for boyfriends. But what of girls' basketball?

Girls' Basketball. Until the 1974-75 school year there was no girls' basketball except in physical education classes. In 1974-75, the new, feminist English teacher complained that the girls should have a team too. Her complaint came at about the same time as newspaper accounts of a series of court cases about sex discrimination in sports. Since the administration was not unaware of sex-related inequities throughout all school systems, the principal agreed to her suggestion and asked her to coach the team. She had had no training or experience in coaching, but she agreed to do it from a sense of obligation and a love for basketball.*

---

*See Gearing et al. (1973) and Tindall (1973a; 1973b) for greater elaboration of this concept.

Eight girls tried out for the team and were all accepted. The male basketball coach agreed to help the English teacher with any problems. The season began and a number of striking differences began to emerge between the girls' and boys' teams; these are summarized in Table 5. (Table 5 also includes some data on sex-based differences in Quilcene's general sports program.)

It seems quite probable that the differential interest in and support of girls' athletics as opposed to boys' have an impact on the students' views of the relative importance of the two types of activity. It is particularly interesting in light of the fact that during its first year the girls' team went all the way to the district championship, though it lost there. At the championship game, there were eight supporters in attendance from Quilcene (two of whom were researchers). The irrelevance of girls' sports--in terms of community spirit, recreation, and pride; financial security of the school; and participation of other students in support activities--is striking when compared to boys' sports. Likewise, the environment at the games themselves is strikingly different.

A girls' basketball game occurs in the afternoon after school. It, like the boys' games, is held in the gym. Cheerleaders are present, but the cheerleading is not as vibrant and exciting as for a boys' game, partly because there are so few people in attendance. The band is missing, as is the pep club. Cheerleaders sometimes forget their uniforms for the girls' teams. And the girls' team itself had no uniforms for the greater part of the season. It is quite clear that the major function of girls' basketball in Quilcene is the personal growth of the players. Prestige does not as yet derive from being on the girls' team.

Indeed, as noted earlier, the cheerleaders attain far higher prestige than the outstanding players on the girls' basketball team. The

---

*There was a woman trained in physical education who was teaching in the grade school. Though qualified to teach in high school, she was not asked--perhaps because of scheduling problems.

Table 5: Differences in Boys' and Girls' Basketball and Sports; 1974-75

Basketball	Boys	Girls
Admission charge:	$1.75/game	$.50/game
Referees:	professional, paid	student, volunteer
Advertising:	reader board, pep rallies, advance schedule	note in bi-monthly newsletter
Time:	evenings (prime time)	after school
Coverage:	weekly, county newspaper	no mention made of girls' games
Spectators (home games):	150-200 adults	15-25 adults
Sports:		
Coaches:	three, trained, experienced	one, inexperienced, untrained
Number of students:	about 55	about 16 (including cheerleaders)
Cost/Coaches:	$3,100	$700 (including cheerleading coaches)

overall impression to be derived from these data seem to be that cheerleading is an acceptable and appropriate activity for a girl and that playing basketball is, at best, permissible. It is also clear that community sentiment is very different depending on whether a boys' team is playing or a girls' team. Clearly different behaviors are expected from boys than from girls.

Boys' Basketball. To understand the behaviors and roles that characterize boys' basketball games, it is helpful to know the position of the various participants in this event. The basketball court is a large rectangle at the ends of which are baskets and at one end of which is a scoreboard. On the two long sides there are bleachers (see Figure 6). The court is reserved for players during play, and only cheerleaders are allowed to enter the court between periods of play. It is clear that the referees sometimes resent even this infringement on the area of play. The floor of the gymnasium is not considered the appropriate place for street shoes, and fairly elaborate precautions are taken to insure that the audience not walk on it. So the court belongs to the players, by and large. The players are segregated from everyone else by their seating (as pointed out by Burnett, 1969), by their access to the court, and by their sole access to the locker room.

The cheerleaders, likewise, have a special place. They always stand together not far from one basket. And they have access to the court during periods when it is not occupied by the players. The table of the officials is situated right between the two teams and above the center of the court. Presumably this is to afford the best view of the action and the decisions of the referees. It also implies impartiality, located as it is between the teams. The band, situated under the flag, is seated behind the cheerleaders, and is seen by participants as having a function similar to that of cheerleaders--provision of school spirit, pep, encouragement, and so on (band members, like cheerleaders, get athletic letters). Seating arrangements for the audience are more haphazard. Students tend to coalesce behind the cheerleaders, and more adult members of the community tend to sit closer to the door. Around the entrance there is usually a cluster of teachers and young unmarried community members. The principal presides over the event seated at the officials' desk.

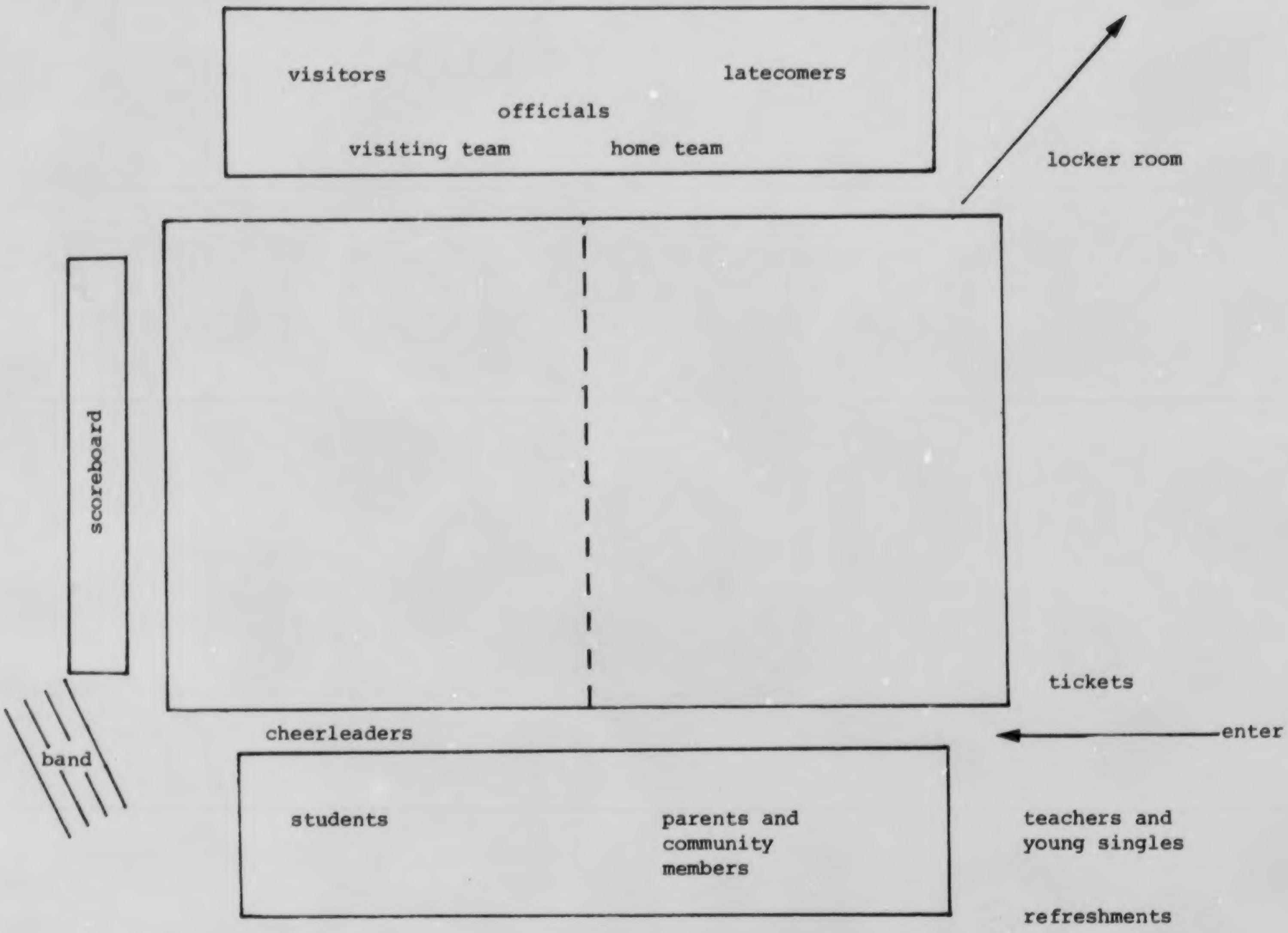

visitors
latecomers
officials
visiting team
home team
locker room
scoreboard
tickets
enter
cheerleaders
band
students
parents and community members
teachers and young singles
refreshments

Figure 6. Diagram of Quilcene Basketball Court

Supporters of the two teams divide themselves rather purposefully. Latecomers who can only find seating among the visitors' supporters tend to enjoy the game less, as they feel unwilling to yell when all around are silent. On a number of occasions, fear has been expressed that violence might erupt should supporters of the home team yell encouragement and praise to their own team while in the midst of a group of visitors.

The key roles in this cultural event include players, cheerleaders, school personnel, and members of the audience. In the following discussion of the performance of these roles we will be looking for items in a hidden curriculum. Tindall (1974) has isolated one hidden curriculum that recurs here, that "men control other men." Much evidence supports this statement: the referees decide when a foul or transgression has occurred, and players comply; the principal reminds people not to walk on the floor, and by and large they do not; the coach directs the team's play; and the captain of the team makes decisions about the team's strategy and time-outs.

That Quilcene residents consider boys and boys' activities more important than girls or girls' activities is clear in many areas of human endeavor; but it is especially striking in such a dramatic and significant cultural event as male high school basketball games. The only events in which children or adolescents are the stars and to which adult men regularly go are male sports events. Women regularly attend school open houses, classroom activities, and indeed, any activities of children, in their role as caretakers of children. But few men attend any nonadult activities except male sports events. Many retired people are also in the audience at male basketball games. The fact that the entire community turns out for and is interested in the results of the basketball games (and other male sports) is a powerful statement of male importance. And all the perceived ramifications of a winning team--financial support of the school, sense of community, recreation, and pride--are statements of the importance of boys.

There is one event each spring in which girls star and to which men pay some heed: the annual Miss Quilcene contest. Although considerable adult work is put into this affair, it is a "one-shot deal" in town. It provides one evening's entertainment, a fashion and talent show. Indeed, in 1975 there was no Miss Quilcene due to lack of student interest.

School personnel (unthinkingly) collaborate in this statement of male importance vis-a-vis females. They arrange and organize the sports events. They provide the lights, colors, music, cheerleaders, and other paraphernalia that characterize boys' games. By providing an exciting setting for male basketball games (and nothing comparable for females) they silently concur in the cultural perception of the male as more important. As mentioned before, in their well-intentioned attempt to change the balance somewhat by offering girls' basketball as well, they accentuated the discrepancy between the relative importance of boys and girls.

Closely related to this cultural perception of boys as more important is the analogy that is easy to draw between cheerleaders and team members on the one hand, and wives and husbands on the other. A number of elements of the ideal traditional marital relationship are replicated on the basketball court. Men are expected to dominate in the family and women should submit; men are the breadwinners and women provide emotional support, beauty, housekeeping chores, and sexuality; men are aggressive and angry, and women are submissive and control aggressive impulses.

That men control women is very clear in a basketball game. A look of irritation from any player to the cheerleaders causes them to desist from whatever they are doing. When the referee tells them to get off the floor, they scurry to obey. But to understand the full impact of this, one must remember the prestige of both the players and the cheerleaders. Both are important participants in an event that interests the entire community. The players' importance to the community and the school has already been outlined in considerable detail. In competition among their fellows, the players have emerged as the most skilled and best suited to win games for the school. The importance of winning has ramifications throughout the school, the community and in terms of their own personal status. These boys are the "best" in a sphere that has great importance to most members of the community.

And cheerleaders are their female analog, in terms of status and importance in the community. Just as small boys seek out team members, small girls want to sit near the cheerleaders. Where men comment at length on the abilities of the players and the proper strategy for playing basketball, the women recall their own cheerleading days or the girls who were cheerleaders when they were young, and they compare those of the present day. And as far as the female students are concerned, what Bernikow said of cheerleading in the 1950s still applies in Quilcene:

> On my awkward first day, I saw that cheerleaders were the queens of the school, and I determined to become one (1973:65).

We therefore consider the cheerleaders in more detail.

Cheerleaders. The cheerleaders are chosen by student vote, after the performance of cheerleading routines in a special assembly. Another assembly is scheduled to announce winners. In a suspenseful ceremony, the cheerleader who got the most votes the previous year gives a lighted candle to the new cheerleader with the greatest number of votes. Cheerleaders are publicly ranked according to their popularity, and retain that ranking throughout the year. Cheerleader number two gives her candle to the new cheerleader number two, and so on.

In contrast, recruitment to the team and opportunity to play in games certainly depend on competence. By working hard and improving his skill, a player can increase his opportunities to play in games and thereby enhance his status and prestige. Even the recruitment processes for these highly valued positions reflect the capabilities of and life chances expected for males and females. A girl's life chances (whether in cheerleading or marriage) rest on one fateful decision which is based on her ability to be liked (by students or a breadwinner). A boy's life chances (playing on the team or having an occupation) are mutable and are based on his ability, skill, and willingness to work hard.

Given the enormous prestige of both the players and the cheerleaders and their high visibility, their interactions provide the model for high school students' (and others') interactions. What do their interactions show, in terms of hidden curriculum? They show that the stakes are all on what the boys do. The girls are powerless to help in any direct sense. They can provide psychological props, support, enthusiasm, and forgiveness; but they can never make a point for the team. And their every cheer reminds the audience, the players, and themselves of the importance of making those points:

Rangers fight,
Hold 'em tight,
Don't give in.
[clap] Win!

Starts with a W,
Ends with an N,
Put an I in the middle,
And win, win, win!

Baskets, baskets, baskets, boys,
You make the baskets,
We'll make the noise.

Bernikow notes too that "boys had acceptable temper tantrums on the court, but cheerleaders never did" (1973:67). Likewise, anger at a perceived improper call is legitimate for a player but not for a cheerleader. The cheerleaders, in their role as supervisors of student behavior, feel compelled to admonish delinquents in the audience and never express anything more negative than sorrow themselves. Indeed, the Quilcene Cheerleaders' Constitution (1975) has very explicit rules about the proper emotions to express--for example,

> [Cheerleaders] should not display undesirable emotions such as crying, anger, rage at any time.
>
> Be a good sport; win or lose, wear a smile. If you must dissolve into tears, wait for the privacy of your room. The crowd will reflect your sportsmanship. Do not show temper, discourtesy, or lack of interest.

Cheerleaders are providers of emotional support and decoration, and reservoirs of happiness and good cheer ("cheerfulness...steady pep, bouncy activity, and good clean dispositions," says Bernikow). Again the Cheerleaders Constitution has appropriate advice:

> A good cheerleader takes a great deal of pride in appearance. Good make-up, not too much, and an attractive hairdo are important. Keep your skin shining clean. Take good care of it so that it will be clear and free from blemishes. Do not chew gum while you are cheering. Wear a smile--it helps you sell yourself.
>
> Always be friendly to all.
>
> Learn to make others feel important. This is one of the secrets of popularity.

The content of the cheers indicates the "wifely" emotional support given to team members:

We're with ya team, so fight,
We're with ya team, so fight,
We're with ya team, we're with ya team,
So fight, fight, fight.

We love you, team, we love you,
We love you, team, we love you,
etc.

Cheerleaders, like wives, have a number of housekeeping chores such as cleaning the popcorn machine, selling concessions, decorating the cheering sections, and "maintaining a first aid kit" to be composed of needles, thread, pins, and shoe polish.

Lastly, there is an important symbolic sexual component to many of the cheers:

1. Ranger, its your thing,
So, Ranger, do your thing.
Do it, do it, alright,
Do it, do it, alright,
Do it, do it, alright,
Do it, do it, alright.

2. We've got a team,
And they're sure alright.
Get it on in the morning,
Get it on at night,
uh huh, [clap] uh huh, uh huh
etc.

3. One two you know what to do,
/uiuiata/
/uiuiata/
/ita uta/
uh uh [grunt]

4. S-I-N-K - I-T
Sink it for me, Baby!

In understanding the sexual implications of these cheers, it is important to recall the informal sexual implication of "doing it" (sexual intercourse) and "getting it on" (either sexual intercourse or penile erection). The overt sexuality of the cheers is enhanced by the accompanying rhythms and body motions, particularly with cheers #3 and #4.

The role of the boys in this event is already somewhat clear from the cheers that the girls yell for them. They are to be aggressive, to win, to fight, to persevere, to work together for the common goal of winning. The perceived relevance of boys' sports in school finance gives a very real support to the analogy between winning in sports and succeeding economically in life, mentioned earlier by Blanchard (1974). And the lack of relevance of girls' basketball to the community and to school finance makes this analogy more striking. Likewise, the inability of the cheerleaders to affect the very important win-loss record of the team in a direct manner emphasizes the female helpmate role.

Basketball games teach boys to "go, fight, win," that "we're number one, we can't be number two," and other such competitive and aggressive traits. These are considered inappropriate to females. Culturally, females are number two; they are to be subordinate in marriage, where an Ipana smile (Bernikow) is a better strategy than aggressive fighting to gain one's wishes. When the cheerleader shouts "we're number one, we can't be number two," she is telling us all that her own status depends on the efforts of the men on her team, rather than on her own efforts (though she provides certain amorphous psychological supports).

A basketball game in this village is an important event. It is a statement of the underlying premises of American culture. The stated purposes of a basketball game are entertainment for the audience and physical and emotional growth for the players. But a powerful lesson emerges from the relationships among participants in this event, one that can hardly pass over anyone present. The "best" young men and women are performing before the entire community, and with its blessing; and they are performing the "proper" roles for men and women. In a society so enamored of youth as our own and in a community where sex roles are so dichotomized, it must serve as a potent reminder to adults as well of their "appropriate" roles.

PART III

EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOLS IN ACTION

Parts One and Two of this volume have presented ethnographic analyses of the Quilcene community and the Quilcene Schools, respectively. We have focused on the kinds of enduring patterns that characterize cultural systems. In contrast, Part Three is an account of the major events, problems, and accomplishments of Quilcene's ES project over its first three years. It constitutes a distinct "change of pace."

In Chapter 12, "The Year of the Plan," we discuss the genesis of Quilcene's application for participation in the ES program; Quilcene's methods for obtaining community and teacher planning input; the various problems that plagued Quilcene school personnel in connection with the ES project; and, again, the special levy.

"The Year of Implementation" (Chapter 13), describes the most active and interesting year of the project. While implementing many new curricular components, ES project personnel had to confront and deal with ES/Washington's requirement for ongoing internal evaluation and an NIE-decreed change from a "grant" to a "contract," with all the accompanying requirements for accountability and reporting. At the same time, administrative conflict continued to plague the school. Still, 1973-74 was a year of enthusiasm and renewal for most people in the school.

Chapter 14, "The Year of Absorption," documents the effective demise of the ES project, despite continued (though greatly reduced) funding for two more years (see Appendix for details). Few additional programs were implemented, the edge had worn off the innovations of the year before, and administrative conflicts continued to mar the smooth functioning of the school. ES was no longer identifiable from a glance at the schools' organizational chart, and in many ways things had returned to normal. The morale and *esprit de corps* of the teachers, however, had improved sufficiently to warrant a very near strike in the fall of 1975--an event that would have been inconceivable in the fall of 1972.

It is interesting to bear in mind, when reading Part Three, the primary goals expressed by ES/Washington when the ES program was beginning. ES/Washington personnel wanted to stimulate projects that were *comprehensive*, *locally initiated*, and *planned*. They were committed to planned, holistic change that derived from the needs and concerns of the local citizenry. We will discuss these goals further in Part Four.

CHAPTER 12: THE YEAR OF THE PLAN

The 1972-73 school year was one of stimulation, conflict, challenge, and upheaval for Quilcene School. The small school of around 200 students had received a promise of substantial federal funding over a five-year period; and its task for this year was to come up with a comprehensive plan that reflected the concerns of the community at large.

Announcement of the ES Competition

For Quilcene, participation in the Experimental Schools program began in March of 1972. Beleaguered from without, demoralized within, the school huddled in the face of the driving rains of late winter. Two high school students typically crossed the street in the mid-morning to pick up the usual bundle of mail at the Post Office. They then dropped it off in the front office where the Head Secretary sorted it (see Figure 7 for layout of school grounds).

Dr. Binkley, the Superintendent of Schools, began to go through the day's mail. One item that caught his attention was an announcement from the Office of Education's newly established Experimental Schools branch. This announcement gave notice of large grants to be made available to selected small schools around the country. The grants were designed to support locally initiated projects of comprehensive educational change in rural districts. Districts that met the eligibility requirements were encouraged to submit letters of interest describing the district and its problems and setting forth initial ideas for comprehensive change and improvement. Eligibility requirements included a student population of less than 2,500 in all 12 grades and a project plan which:

> must be comprehensive, that is, it must include at least the following components:
>
> (a) a fresh approach to the nature and substance of the total curriculum in light of local needs and goals;
> (b) reorganization and training of staff to meet particular project goals;
> (c) innovative use of time, space, and facilities;
> (d) active community involvement in developing, operating, and evaluating the proposed project; and
> (e) an administrative and organizational structure which supports the project and which takes into account local strengths and needs. (Experimental Schools, 1972a.)

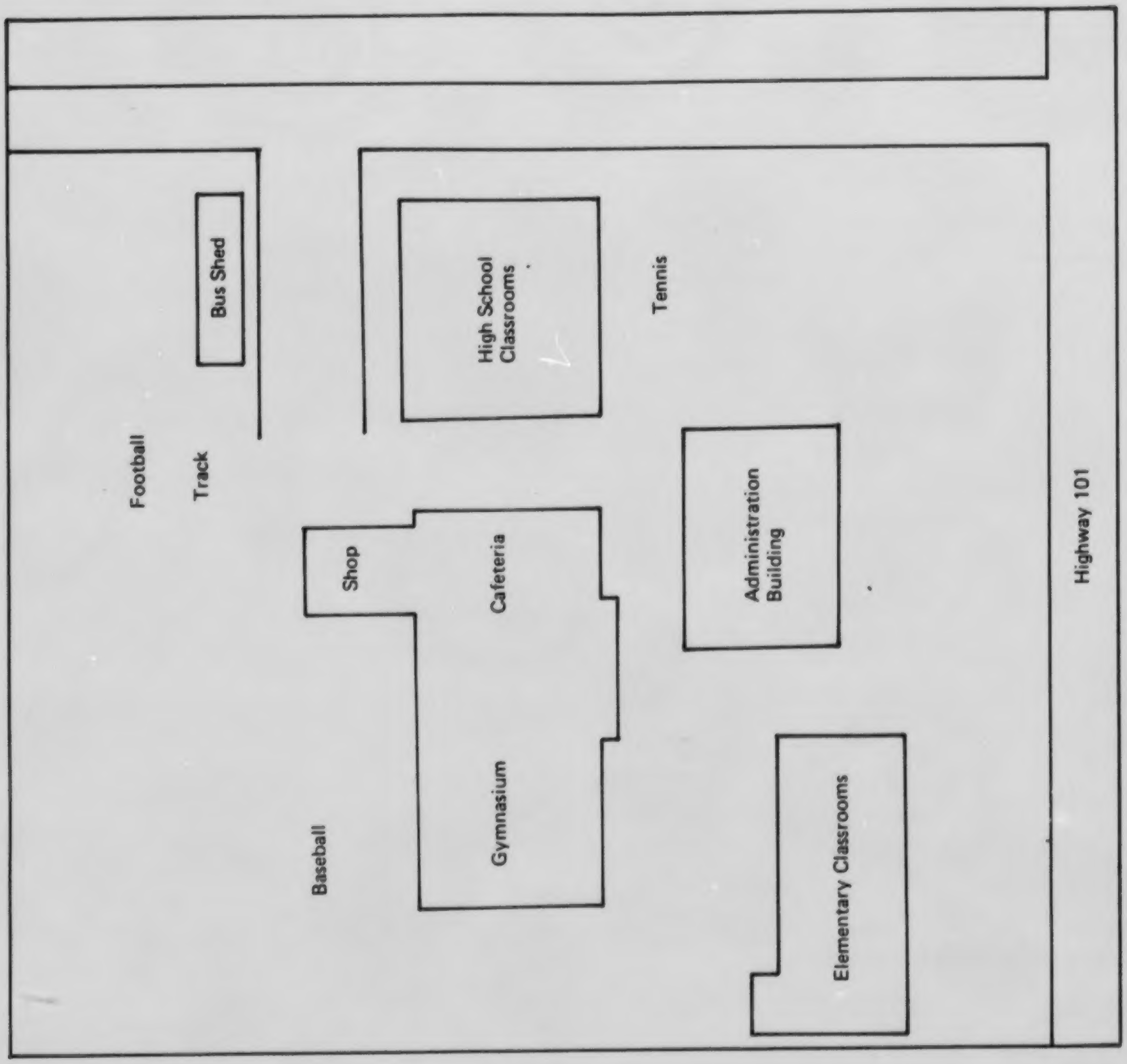

Bus Shed
High School Classrooms
Tennis
Football
Track
Shop
Cafeteria
Administration Building
Highway 101
Gymnasium
Baseball
Elementary Classrooms

Figure 7

Diagram of Quilcene School Plant, 1972-73

Emphasis was given to the term comprehensive by an additional footnote which indicated that the term included "at a minimum all the significant elements of a school program" (Experimental Schools, 1972a).

The announcement further pointed out that Experimental Schools funds could not be used to support activities normally considered part of the regular operating cost of the school, or for major renovations of school facilities or construction. It stressed that districts must be able to continue the programs at the end of the five-year grant period, and that grants greater than 15% of the annual operating costs of the districts should not be expected. Finally, the announcement indicated that Experimental Schools intended to contract with external researchers for documentation and evaluation of each project.

Dr. Binkley lived within walking distance of the school. He rented a small house located on a bumpy driveway connecting Highway 101 with the back street between the church and the Youth Center. The buildings were hidden from either road and provided a private atmosphere in the middle of Quilcene. The positioning of his home--apart from the community yet in its very midst--was symbolic of the relationship between the Superintendent of Schools and Quilcene in general. The school itself, located in the very center of the village, was extremely visible. It was the largest plant in the village, directly across from the Post Office and Peninsula Foods store. Thus, the superintendent's domain was always in the public eye and awareness, as was the man himself by virtue of his position.

Brinnon, 12 miles to the south, is smaller than Quilcene. Two dozen homes, several abandoned structures, a store, a Post Office/restaurant combination, a real estate office, a telephone building, and a civic clubhouse form the center of the village. Brinnon School, set back from Highway 101, serves only a few elementary students. Since the community is not large enough to support a high school, the teenagers in Brinnon have traditionally attended high school in Quilcene. Thus, when Dr. Binkley decided to respond to the announcement from Experimental Schools, he naturally assumed that Brinnon should be included. He saw no reason either to inform Brinnon or to ask for help and counsel in the preparation of the letter of interest.

Dr. Binkely spent the week of spring vacation, 1972, working alone in his office. It was not unusual in those days to see his office light burning into the night, and his working through the vacation elicited neither community praise nor criticism. His "letter of interest" included suggestions for school program improvements, most of which derived from a report written on Quilcene at the district's request by a state evaluation team in 1971. Dr. Binkley had little hope that Quilcene and Brinnon would actually receive funding, despite Quilcene's (and Brinnon's) need.

The Quilcene school district received a telegram in May informing them of their possible selection as an Experimental Schools site. The school board considered this news with definite misgivings. Some board members were immediately in favor of the grant, but others were not. Although some thought that the school could certainly use the funds to upgrade its quality, others felt that the price would ultimately be higher than anyone would want to pay. Some felt that small school districts needed a lot of help; others felt that federal help would entail federal control. At any rate, the Quilcene school board notified the Brinnon board of the grant possibility and the two boards met to discuss it. Dr. Binkley mimeographed copies of his letter of interest to Experimental Schools and read it to the faculty at a meeting.

Faculty members were distinctly unimpressed for the most part, though a couple were enthusiastic. Dr. Binkley had assessed the faculty as isolated into stagnation, and not many of them appreciated such an assessment. They saw the letter of interest as one more example of the high-handed administrative fiat to which they were accustomed. They scoffed at the idea that Quilcene might get such a grant, and were certain that--should it come through --they'd have as little to say in its operation as they had had in preparing the letter of interest. They were, in their own words, a "beaten crew" (Field Notes, 1973).

Experimental Schools personnel in Washington, D.C., had found Dr. Binkley's letter of interest both informative and provocative. He described the community and its school in stark terms. Spending only $968 per pupil in 1969-70, the school had nevertheless conducted several innovative programs. A Core Class was divided into high and low achievers and the two classes were approached with different tactics. The Advanced Core met once a week at the instructor's home as well as at school. The Basic Core met over coffee in a rearranged classroom with easy chairs. A Diversified Occupations class was started in 1971-72, in which 15 high school students worked in local businesses for school credit as part of their daily curriculum. A small motors class became an auto mechanics class that year, meeting in a mechanic shop in the village. The cooks took students into the kitchen to teach them restaurant skills.

The superintendent pointed out that these were piecemeal approaches and did not reflect a unified attempt at directed change. He mentioned the State Superintendent of Public Instruction evaluation team, which had recommended that the needs of the community be given priority in evaluation and change in Quilcene Schools, that the possibility of nongraded work be considered, and that a citizens' advisory board be established to assist the administration. He discussed faculty stagnation in Quilcene (a sore point for years afterward with the faculty), said that sex education was needed, that a unified district was in order, and that the district was economically depressed.

The hopes he listed for the district included:

-- a unification of the goals of the district;
-- in-service training to assist in the above end;
-- an environmental education program;
-- ungraded curriculum;
-- the use of community members as teachers;
-- an expanded school year with change in the traditional semester or quarter-type divisions;
-- continuing education for adults;
-- staff retraining;
-- some programmed learning;
-- building a small crafts industry to exploit tourist trade;
-- a field trip program; and
-- faculty visitations to other districts.

Intending to learn more about Quilcene, an Experimental Schools site visitation team came to Jefferson County from Washington, D.C., later in May. They assembled in Port Townsend and drove south to Quilcene. They drove around the village before arriving at the school, and their urban-oriented eyes did not perceive the wealth of resources dormant under unkempt lawns and broken machinery stored against possible future need. The village's buildings, weathered by the relentless northwest climate, seemed to them to be old, substandard housing relieved by an occasional modern structure. They could not know of the horde of tourists who would come in a month or so to plague the many and enrich the few, and so the No Trespassing and Beware of Dog signs were merely points of interest noted in their site visitation report (Experimental Schools, 1972b).

The team met with school board and administration and went back to Washington assured that the faculty supported and were interested in the program and that the community would certainly be involved. At the same time, they were concerned that the involvement of the community would "only be in selected occupational areas and not really thoroughly representative of the community as a whole" (Experimental Schools, 1972b). Another site visitation report (Experimental Schools, 1972c) pointed out that Dr. Binkley had not shared the application process until the telegram of possible award had arrived.

Planning Begins

On June 29, 1972, Dr. Binkley received a second telegram confirming Quilcene's selection as one of six rural school districts in the country to receive a major grant-in-aid under the Experimental Schools program. Their participation would, however, require the joint efforts of Quilcene and Brinnon. The two school boards met and selected a committee of two Quilcene members and one Brinnon member to begin consideration of how to use the grant. One of their first tasks was to select a director for the Experimental Schools project. The man finally chosen was Mr. Cranston, the high school social studies teacher, who was reached at college where he was enrolled for a summer session. He accepted with some reservations, feeling as ambivalent about more federal money in the schools as had the board members.

By midsummer, events relevant to the Experimental Schools project were proceeding apace. On August 17, 1972, Dr. Binkley, in a Port Townsend Leader article, gave three goals for Quilcene's Experimental Schools project: (1) to get the community involved in the educational process in Quilcene; (2) to discover and put to use available local resources, human and environmental, in the educational process; and (3) to improve cooperation between Quilcene and Brinnon. A cartoon in the Leader that summer was less hopeful. It asked: "What will we do with Quilcene's $500,000?" "Buy a blackboard," "get a new roof," and "make money" were the answers.

Quilcene School District had been granted $109,000 for the purpose of planning the project during the 1972-73 school year. (This amounted to approximately 30% of that year's budget. See Appendix.) These funds were to be spent formulating a Five-Year Project Plan, setting up programs, planning the course of action, hiring consultants. The Washington, D.C., office of Experimental Schools stressed local initiative, local expertise, and shared authority. Dr. Binkley, however, continued to run the district in his accustomed way, which excluded shared authority. For instance, he hired three new faculty members for the Experimental Schools project completely on his own, without notifying either of the two principals or the new ES Project Director.

His action offended all of these individuals, who saw it as proof that things would go on as they had before. Their dissatisfaction was shared by faculty members. Teachers had tried in the past to introduce new programs or to upgrade old ones, but felt they had received little if any support from the administration.

These facts were not lost on Ms. Robbins, who had been assigned by ES/Washington as its Project Director for Quilcene. As such, she was responsible for making sure that the Quilcene ES project carried out the terms of its grant. She stressed the need to structure the planning process at Quilcene, and in a site visitation report (Experimental Schools, 1972d) pointed out that while the two elementary principals understood this need, Dr. Binkley opposed it simply because of his own personal style of management. She suggested that roles be defined within the Quilcene ES project, that specific duties be clearly assigned either to the superintendent or to the Project Director.

Numerous ads and articles appeared in the Leader that August publicizing the grant. A large community meeting to decide its future was held on August 22, 23, and 24. During day and evening sessions (complete with child care), those attending discussed the shortcomings, the past, the goals, and the future of Quilcene and Brinnon schools. On the third day, groups were formed; each group listed what they wanted out of a school, in order of importance. Finally, each group selected a representative to a single group which was to collate all the items on the lists and put them in order of priority. Time ran out, however, and this task was never finished.

Community interest continued to run high; the Leader reported that an informational meeting on September 12, 1972, drew 70 people. In mid-September, a Quilcene High School social studies class conducted a door-to-door survey in the two school districts asking residents to nominate people of their own occupation (e.g., logger, housewife, teacher) to serve on an ES

Project Steering Committee. The students used a questionnaire constructed in their own class to elicit nominations.

On September 26, 1972, the Joint School Boards Subcommittee selected 30 names from the list compiled by the students. The Steering Committee met for the first time on the first Monday of October. At this meeting, it went over the partially ordered list from the three-day community meeting and selected three areas to be emphasized by the Quilcene Experimental Schools project: basic education, vocational education, and environmental education. Twenty-three of the 30 people selected for the Steering Committee also served on one or more of the subcommittees set up to deal with each area of emphasis --reading (six members), vocational education (12 members), and science (eight members).

The three new faculty members hired in the fall of 1972 either worked directly on the formation of the Five-Year Plan or provided release time for others to do so. In addition, many other faculty members were becoming involved on a part-time basis in the basic planning effort. The three new teachers and the replacements for teachers who had left constituted a significant influx of "new blood." In addition, two half-time positions were created: an Internal Recorder and an Internal Evaluator. The recorder was a Local woman who was the Quilcene reporter for the Port Townsend Leader, and hence a convenient and logical choice. Her duties consisted of recording meetings and events of the planning process and typing them up for duplication. Jane Smith, the evaluator, was a Brinnon school board member and certified teacher who was to become the major Brinnon representative in the Quilcene ES project. Her duties, in accordance with ES/Washington desires, were to establish and carry out procedures for evaluating the progress of the project.

Within the school, the structure of responsibility in the fall of 1972 appeared to be somewhat muddled. An extra appendage had been grafted onto the standard chain of command (school board-superintendent-principal-faculty) and it had the disconcerting capacity to make far-reaching decisions. Figure 8 displays the traditional administrative structure of the Quilcene schools; Figure 9 shows the 1972-73 ES addition (the Brinnon school has been omitted). The Joint School Board Subcommittee had been the first modification that resulted from the ES project. It had the responsibility of advising the two boards concerning the ES project. The ES Steering Committee not only advised

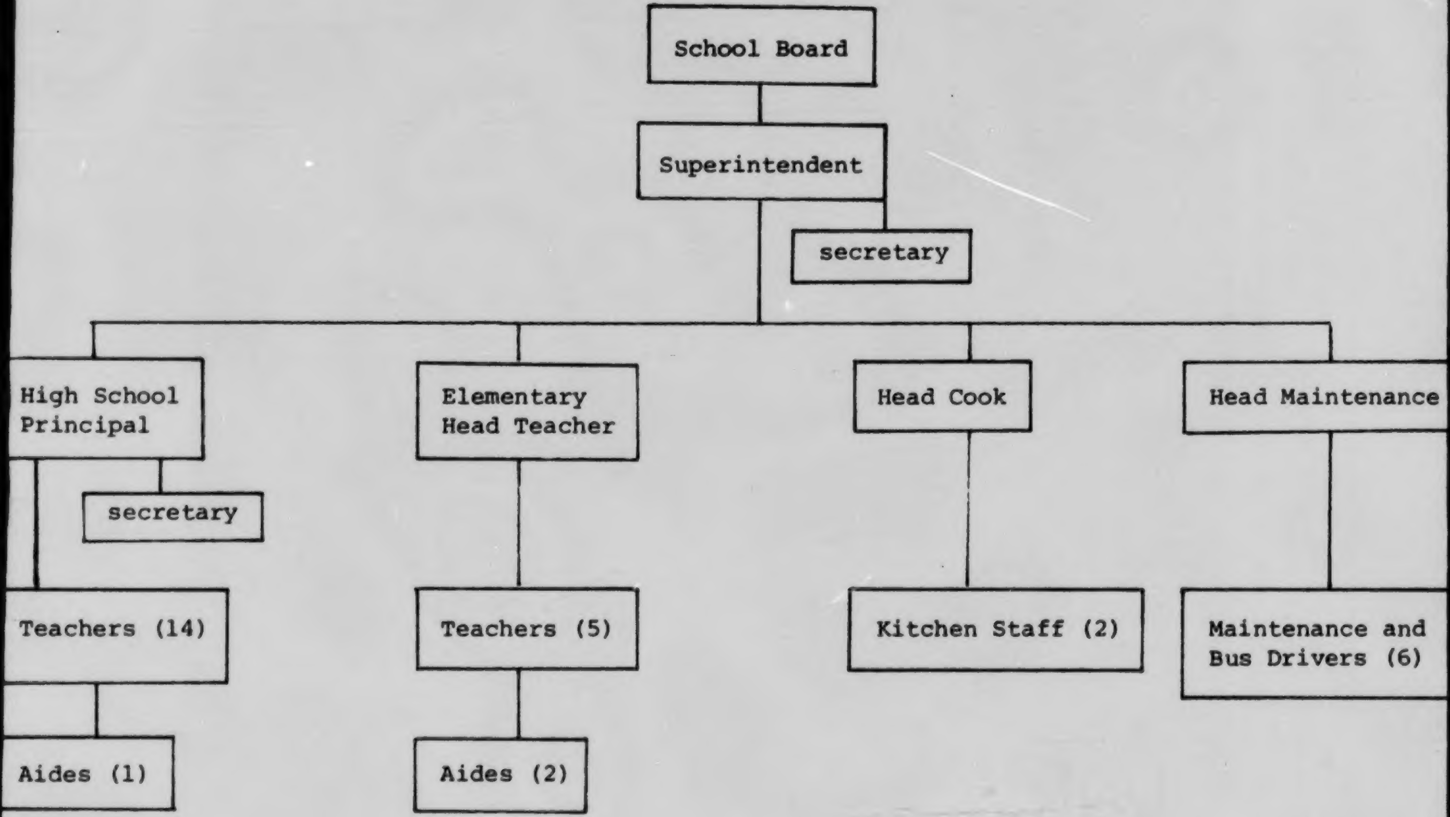
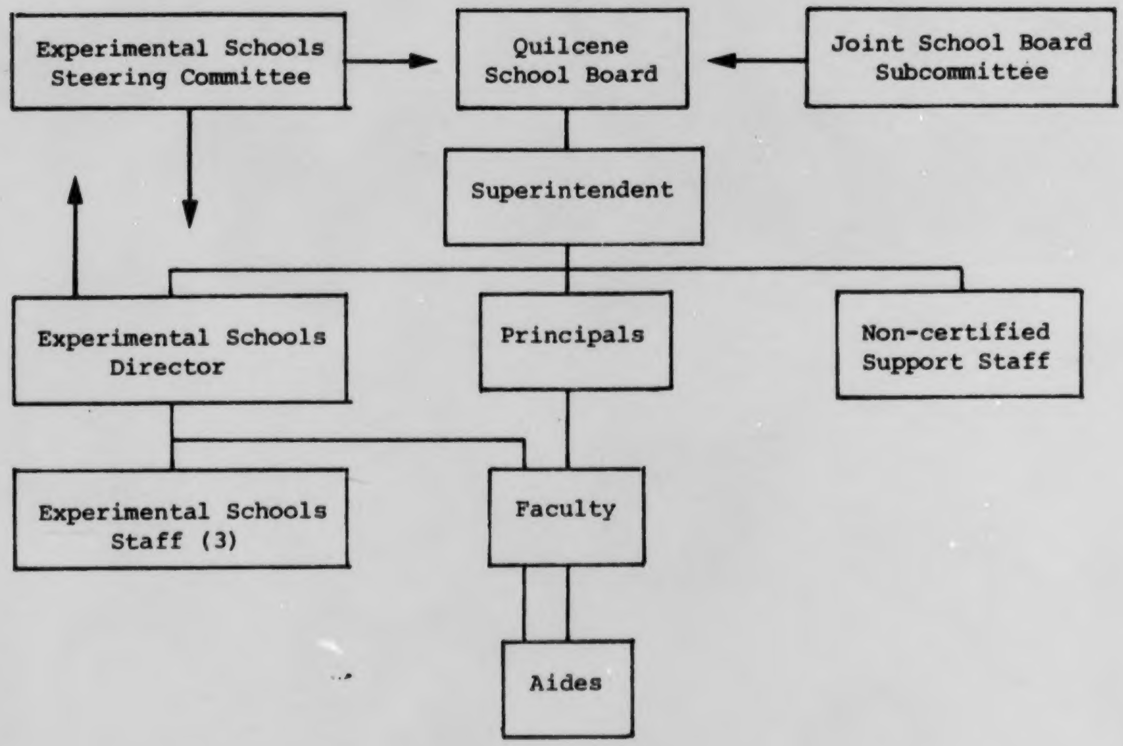

School Board
Superintendent
secretary
High School Principal
secretary
Teachers (14)
Aides (1)
Elementary Head Teacher
Teachers (5)
Aides (2)
Head Cook
Kitchen Staff (2)
Head Maintenance
Maintenance and Bus Drivers (6)

Figure 8. Organization of the Quilcene School System Prior to the Fall of 1973


Experimental Schools Steering Committee
Quilcene School Board
Joint School Board Subcommittee
Superintendent
Experimental Schools Director
Principals
Non-certified Support Staff
Experimental Schools Staff (3)
Faculty
Aides

Note: Arrows indicate influence only; solid lines indicate authority.

Figure 9. Organization of the Quilcene School System after Introduction of its Experimental Schools Project

the school board; it had established the basic direction of the ES project, and had the theoretical right to pass or reject all of the programs proposed for the project. Although subject to the authority of the superintendent, the ES Project Director also had dealings with the school board; he was, *ex officio*, a member of the Steering Committee, and ran most of that body's meetings. Finally, it was the ES Project Director, Mr. Cranston, who organized much of the activity of the planning effort. He was instrumental in developing the design for the ES Plan and therefore for the shape and kind of program the district was to have in the future. Moreover, his being in charge of faculty members while they worked on the Plan was an undermining factor in the traditional authority structure of the school.

By December, the three-part Plan was taking shape. The Basic Education component would concentrate on reading betterment during the first year; renovation of the math program was a future goal. The basic problems with the past reading program had included poor materials and insufficient follow-through from grade to grade. The proposed solution was a linguistically oriented program called the SRA (Science Research Associates) reading program, together with a tracking system called Fountain Valley Teacher Support System. At the secondary level, Craig reading machines were to be installed in the library; several students per hour would be released from regular English classes to use them.

The Vocational Education component was to focus on career awareness at the elementary level; secondary students would benefit from increased shop facilities, more shop classes, and a work experience program in which, as part of the curriculum, they would hold jobs in community businesses for regular high school credit.

The Environmental Education component consisted largely of biology classes held in the environs of the school, together with periodic work done in a specially leased forest area and in a marine lab set up on the bay shore. These three components were tied together by the obvious applicability of basic math and reading skills to both of the other components.

The National Institute of Education's ES Project Officer again visited Quilcene in December.* She was concerned that the three-part Plan did not represent an attempt at comprehensive change and that there was no central theme. She also felt that the visits being made to other school districts might result in an amalgamation of other people's programs, not a locally initiated program. In response, Mr. Cranston and several teachers worked the Plan over carefully and mailed it to Washington in time for the December fifteenth deadline.

---

*The National Institute of Education had by this time assumed full responsibility for the Experimental Schools program initiated by the Office of Education.

January 1973 began with a day of planning for comprehensive change. Quilcene and Brinnon faculty, with internal and external recorders and administrators, met in the Experimental Schools room on January second. The largest classroom in the Quilcene elementary building had been set aside as the office of the ES project. A half-wall separated the office proper from the larger meeting room where the planning conference occurred. It was a new experience for the faculty to be all together for the express purpose of planning, and much time and energy went into discussing issues that involved alternate educational philosophies: good discipline yields good education/ good education yields good discipline; compartmentalized teaching is best/ integrated teaching is best.

Nevertheless, major changes were begun this day. Teachers agreed on the need for planned follow-through in course content from year to year. They decided that individual classrooms were best, though Dr. Binkley pointed out that there was a financial need to reduce the number of teachers in the elementary school. Teachers discussed the possibility of structuring time for class planning into the teaching day.

The two Brinnon teachers listened aloofly to the discussions of contained classrooms and follow-through. These matters were irrelevant to their own daily activities: each teacher's classroom contained four grades, so that students were separated by row, not by room. Thus, the question of contained classrooms was academic; the problems of curriculum follow-through only occurred when a student went from fourth to fifth grade and thereby changed teachers and classrooms. For the Brinnon teachers, the administrative structure was also quite simple. The head teacher did some of the administrative work; the school board itself did the rest. A third-class district, Brinnon had only its elementary school, a head teacher, and a school board of three (not five, as in Quilcene).

Adding to the Brinnon faculty's sense of distance was a long-standing fear of consolidation between the two districts. The Quilcene administration was willing to admit that Quilcene could only gain from a consolidation. The Quilcene school could absorb the Brinnon youngsters with no change in staff or space use (three or four students per class), and the district would benefit from the added tax base. But in Brinnon the school was the focus of most of the sense of community, though that focus was shared by the Brinnon Booster Club. For this reason, the question of consolidation was always a point of contention for the Brinnon faculty, school board, and residents. Ms. Smith's dual role as Brinnon School Board Chair and Experimental Schools Internal Evaluator, though, indicated a formal willingness to cooperate with Quilcene.

Quilcene Deals with "The East"

The Washington office of ES had originally intended that Abt Associates, the outside contractor responsible for research on the ES program, also help the school districts conduct local evaluations. Under that plan, the same Abt Associates personnel would have acted both as documentor/evaluator for the federal program and as advisor to the districts' internal evaluation effort. The problem of avoiding feedback of documentation data into the district-level evaluation was significant, so that plan was later abandoned. However, in the winter of 1972-73, several young contract researchers had labored over a document in Cambridge, trying to write without the academic and bureaucratic jargon so endemic in their normal style. Jane Smith, the Internal Evaluator for the Quilcene ES Project, received their plan for technical assistance and was outraged.

> "Look at this thing!" She held the Abt Associates proposal for rendering technical assistance to rural schools out to us. "This is gobbledegook! Most of us who have moved here moved here because it is an unpretentious place where people say what they mean and get it over with. If this is what we are to get with this federal project I wish to heaven we'd never taken it!" She sat down in our office and regarded the manual with dismay. "Once you do figure out the language, you discover that it would take a month to get a simple questionnaire written up. It's just too much." (Field Notes, 1973.)

Finally, the presence of external evaluation was felt at every turn. A looming, impersonal and inscrutable machine from the East which asked for endless data and offered in return an incomprehensible Technical Assistance plan did nothing to ease the growing anxieties over the idea of being "evaluated."

Viewed from Quilcene, both Abt Associates and the National Institute of Education were large eastern bureaucracies staffed by Ivy League hotshots who spent their time composing incomprehensible memoranda. In NIE's case, these staffers' apparent whims determined the disbursement of thousands of dollars. If Mr. Cranston and his colleagues thought the December revision of the Five-Year Plan would satisfy NIE, they were wrong. Problems multiplied during the course of the spring, ranging from the fact that Quilcene's system of accounting was different from the federal system (and so had to be changed insofar as ES funds were concerned) to the federally imposed walk-through notion, whereby the Plan had to contain examples of what hypothetical students would do each day. Moreover, it was becoming increasingly apparent that while both Washington and Quilcene agreed that certain kinds of equipment were necessary to good programs, the Washington staff was trying to abide by original clauses in the ES announcement which forbade the purchase of such equipment with ES funds. From Quilcene's perspective, strings were appearing left and right on the disbursement of this "no strings attached" money. Furthermore, Quilcene's ES staff felt that although Washington wanted specific things in the Plan, it would never tell the district what those things were.

Experimental Schools personnel had encouraged brevity of reporting to facilitate speedy responses from ES (Experimental Schools, 1972f). Yet one of the most often-cited problems in the Quilcene ES project in 1972-73 was the extreme delay in federal responses, coupled with federal insistence that Quilcene meet its deadlines.

> He reached out and dropped the phone into the cradle as though it were contaminated. He had difficulty keeping the anger from his voice.
>
> "That's the third time I have called and no response yet." The proposal for a comprehensive Five-Year Plan had been sent to Washington in December 1972. Now, in January, there was still no response. Within a week the second in-service day would be held, and a large reason for that in-service day was the discussion of NIE responses to the plan. Prompt response had been promised, no response had come. Letters went unanswered, calls were ignored. (Field Notes, 1973)

On the day of the second January in-service, the Project Officer in Washington was finally reached by telephone. She gave the response to the Project Plan by telephone and said she would mail the written critique that very day. She again expressed concern that comprehensiveness was lacking; rather, three separate curricular programs were discussed in the Plan. In addition, no justification for the necessity for change was given in the Plan; no discussion of why the present curriculum was failing in Quilcene, or of the genesis of the plan, was included. Also lacking were a schedule for how the Plan would actually occur and specific data concerning community involvement. Finally, the objectives set out seemed unrealistic; perhaps hopes and goals were being confused.

Mr. Cranston and the teachers who had written the Plan felt discouraged and attacked by the criticism. They expressed their anger and then turned with diminished enthusiasm to the day's work. The remainder of the in-service day was given over to setting up actual programming in the three subareas (reading, vocational education, science) in small groups.

At last, the final draft of the Five-Year Plan was put together and Mr. Cranston had to drive to Seattle to get it in the mail on time for its arrival deadline. A strong effort had been made to demonstrate on paper the interrelatedness of the three components of the project. The central theme of the plan was "to provide a relevant, comprehensive education for the students of Quilcene and Brinnon through the application and utilization of the environment and improved classroom instruction" (Quilcene Public Schools, 1973).

The Plan outlined the manner in which student needs had been assessed: California Achievement Test (CAT) scores, community meetings, and student interviews. The CAT scores were included in the Plan text and the meetings were discussed. The student interview was a series of six questions asked of each student by Mr. Cranston or Ms. Smith:

1. What are your attitudes toward school?
2. What are your academic goals?
3. What are your vocational goals?
4. What changes would you recommend for improvement of your school?
5. What is your response to the federal project?
6. Do you have any general comments concerning your school life?

(Quilcene Public Schools, 1973:6)

The Plan attempted to show what kinds of changes would occur to meet these needs and how those changes would actually take place. The Quilcene ES team felt that there had been enough work on the writing of the Plan. They felt it was "time to quit shuffling paper and get to the real work" (Field Notes, 1973).

About this time, the new component grafted onto the old administrative structure, the Project Director's position, began to create a dilemma for the school as an organization. The federal guidelines for the grant specifically stated that the Experimental Schools Project Director was the utlimate authority in dealing with the NIE personnel. The dilemma derived from the school tradition that ultimate authority and decision-making power rested with the superintendent.

In the spring of 1973, Mr. Cranston had to make a number of decisions concerning packets which would ultimately become regular school programming. He strongly influenced the decisions to purchase various materials, such as SRA and shop equipment, for components of the ES project. He was supposed to make decisions about staff training, extended contracts, and even building renovations which had traditionally been within the sphere of the superintendent's authority. Dr. Binkley complained that it was becoming difficult for him to adequately plan and work when many of his plans and prerogatives were being undercut by the Experimental Schools Program in general and the authority of the Experimental Schools Project Director specifically.

NIE's directives for constructing the Five-Year Plan specifically called for faculty planning and training as part of the overall plan process. In following these plans, Mr. Cranston set up a number of planning sessions in January 1973 in which the faculty was supposed to lay out the basic approach to the reorganization of the school to conform to the objectives outlined by the Steering Committee. This was a process that Dr. Binkley had generally been reluctant to initiate on his own--a matter on which ES/Washington Project Officer Robbins had previously commented in a report to her office (Experimental Schools, 1972e). As a result of these planning sessions, the faculty began to see that their ideas and hopes were in fact becoming a part of the overall plan for the school--a stunning contrast to the traditional decision-making models in Quilcene School District.

The Dispute Over the Levy

> Driving over Mount Walker in the rain had become a familiar exercise. As we came into Quilcene, I noted that there were only a couple of vehicles at the tavern, though the cafe lot had its

> usual contingent of six or seven. The school lot was jammed, and a line of cars were nestled up to the No Parking signs along 101. Across the street, the Post Office lot was also crowded and cars had spilled over into the store's lot. The lights of the school buildings gleamed mistily through the winter rain. Even from the street, the muffled sounds of the basketball game were audible.
>
> We passed out of the silent rain into a tumultuous blast of noise. WHAM WHAM Wham. Megaphones slammed a hardwood floor in unison. Brilliant lights, a roar of voices and the heat of the room combined to assault my senses. I watched my daughter stand silently, mesmerized by the apparent chaos around her. One by one, people became recognizable in the sea of faces. Mr. Xaily was greeting me from his seat by the door. My senses adjusted. The bleachers to the left were for Quilcene supporters, those across the gym for the opposition who shared their side with officials, score keepers, timers, and the two teams. WHAM WHAM WHAM Go, Team, Go! I estimated 250 people on the bleachers in addition to the teams, and a scattering of students in a far corner and on the stage to my right, of which probably 175 were from Quilcene and Brinnon. WHAM WHAM WHAM, Go Go Go! A player leaped into the air from the struggling group on the gym floor, drilled the basketball at the backboard and disappeared again into the swarm below him. The ball hit the backboard out of my line of vision, but the immediate roar, the uniform glee on faces to my left assured me of a Quilcene score. We felt strangely exposed out there away from the crowd, and hurried to find a seat. "They're playin' good ball." "He's doin' fine." "Look at that kid go." "Come on ref, get it in gear!" "Lousy call!" WHAM WHAM WHAM Go Go Go! (Field Notes, 1973.)

Later we wrote in our notes that no town so supportive of its team could ever dump a levy. We had a lot to learn. By 1973 the "levy" had become an annual event in Quilcene. The original intent behind the concept of special levies was to provide for special costs not included in the normal school budget. As changes occurred in the methods of taxation and distribution in the state of Washington, school funds became more and more subject to state control. Costs of school operation rose (see Appendix), taxes skyrocketed, and available funds never seemed to cover the operating cost of the schools, especially in Quilcene. Brinnon had a much richer tax base for the size of its school: the Brinnon school budget for 1970-71 was $48,947, with a taxable valuation of $1,661,077. In Brinnon, special levies were rare. Quilcene, in the same year, had a school operating cost of $300,917, with a district taxable evaluation of $2,094,940. In the spring of 1972, it was necessary to ask the residents of Quilcene School District to float a "special levy" of $70,000 in addition to the regular taxes in order to have enough funds for the normal school costs. The Quilcene levy had become a necessity

--it represented 7% of the budget in 1969-70, 23% in 1970-71, and 22% in 1971-72.

The Planning Year Draws to a Close

We have discussed earlier the events of the winter and spring of 1972-73 (Chapter 4) and the processes leading to the dismissal of the Superintendent. The atmosphere in the community and school was tense, a peculiar combination of defensiveness, hostility, and hope.

The years of community distrust had caused a wounded retreat on the part of teachers. They had adopted an attitude of "laying low," avoiding community notice wherever possible. The Experimental Schools project, however, thrust the school once more into central focus. Old hands on the faculty pointed to the Superintendent's fate with knowing nods, indicating the expected fate of all schoolpersons when the community was aroused.

In fact, the "community" had no unanimity of purpose. Even within the hard core of Locals there was diversity of opinion, as there was within the U.S. Forest Service, and even within the school itself. Only when a cross boundary discussion started did tempers flare, and then people were as likely to espouse the opposite of their true feelings as not, depending on the stance taken by the "other side." At the same time, a feeling of hope ran throughout the community, as teachers, Locals, and Public Employees alike saw participation in the Experimental Schools program as the school system's only hope of survival.

Into this charged atmosphere came a stack of boxes from Abt Associates in Cambridge, Massachusetts. These were the first of what were to be semi-annual student questionnaires, and were the core of AAI's Pupil Change Study (Abt, Cerva, and Marx, 1978). Despite the situation in Quilcene, the data were necessary to the success of the evaluation/documentation process.

The questionnaires caused considerable concern in the schools, however. A few people felt that some of the questions were at best indelicate, and at worst an invasion of privacy. Since many of the school administration's most vocal critics were conservative, administrators feared there would be a negative response.

In fact, when news of the questionnaires was circulated around Quilcene, several parents came into the school to see that their children's questionnaires were destroyed. Although the number of people who actually complained was slight--fewer than a half-dozen--the school administrators saw them as the "tip of the iceberg" and reacted accordingly. Heated discussions ensued between the various parties involved concerning research rights granted, the continuation of the project, and so on. In the tension of 1973, any item which could generate hostility was feared.

Meanwhile, the final Plan for the five-year contract with Experimental Schools was still being negotiated. ES/Washington Project Officer Robbins informed the Quilcene school district that it would be necessary for a contingent from Quilcene to come to Washington to negotiate the final stages of the contract. One school board member from each district, the superintendent, and the Project Director went to Washington on May 31, 1973. The treatment they received in Washington was somewhat less than cordial by Quilcene standards. Federal employees referred to the ES money as though it were their own, chastising the Quilcene and Brinnon visitors for misuse of "my" money. The Quilcene staff were kept at work through lunch hour while ES staff ate sack lunches or went out to lunch. Experimental Schools staff harassed the Quilcene/Brinnon contingent about such trivial expenditures as a dozen plastic buckets. The experience was infuriating and humiliating. Only the hope that Quilcene and Brinnon students would benefit from the ES monies kept the visitors from suggesting various other uses for the contract.

At this meeting, too, the ES/Washington staff changed Mr. Cranston's position from Experimental Schools Project Director to Experimental Schools Project Coordinator, and decreed the Experimental Schools Project Director title must remain with the central school authority--the superintendent.

Back in Quilcene, there was still the matter of the 1973 levy note. The requested amount had been reduced to $90,000, and then reduced again by board action to $80,000.

> The Whistling Oyster tavern was nearly deserted in the clear afternoon. I sat on a bar stool nursing my beer and talking to a couple of regulars.
>
> "Well, I see you guys are going to run that levy again tomorrow."
>
> "What do you mean 'you guys'?" I said. "I don't run that school, I just watch it."
>
> "Must be nice," he said, "Making all that money just to watch somebody do nothing."
>
> I just grinned and said nothing.

> "It seems damn funny to me," he returned to his original theme, "that if the levy fails, they get another chance to pass it. But if the damn thing passes the first time, we don't get another chance to dump it."
>
> As I thought about it, it seemed damn funny to me, too. (Field Notes, 1973)

This time the levy passed. Some said it passed because Dr. Binkley had been forced to resign. Whether this was true or whether it was due to the flurry of activity of the levy committee formed after the first election was unclear. The posters distributed by students and the cleverly written explanation sheet prepared by the committee were convincing.

After the budget negotiations were settled, it was once again necessary to rewrite the final Plan for the Quilcene ES project. At the same time, work on the necessary remodeling of buildings could be started. Equipment could be ordered, extended teacher contracts could be signed. As classes wound down to the year's end, teachers were faced with more work rather than the usual time off. The school grounds themselves became a bustle of activity as work on the remodeling was begun, and the ES project office increased its pace of activity. Workshops, training sessions, and new programs were planned. Work orders and purchase orders stacked up. Teachers went off to summer sessions. This summer, though, instead of taking a hodge-podge of courses to fulfill state or district requirements, they attended courses directed at specific goals. Their expenses were partially defrayed, as they were engaged in obtaining skills to conduct particular programs in the school district. The planning year's activities had resulted in a growing sense of enthusiasm and purpose in the faculty. The teachers' high morale was an obtrusive aspect of school life. Ms. Smith's remarks are representative of a more general sentiment:

> "When I first started to come here often, last year, I couldn't stay long at a time. It was gloomy. Students were hostile. And teachers! You never heard a pleasant word! Don't get me wrong, there's still griping, but it's healthy now. I never used to hear the word 'education' here except in derision. Today I listened to three different conversations about educational improvement in Quilcene!" (Field Notes, 1973.)

In July the school offices were nearly empty. Teachers were either away at summer school or on vacation. Older students were working oysters, logging, waiting tables or just watching the summer go by. For a brief period in the winter and spring, the attention of the entire community had been focused on the school; now, the latent tension between Forest Service employees and loggers superseded the school-community tension of winter. Relatives came to visit. Tourists infested the roads and beaches. In the village, there were gardens to tend. In the forests and on the Bay, there was hard work to be done.

CHAPTER 13: THE YEAR OF IMPLEMENTATION

The Year of Implementation, 1973-74, marked the high point of Quilcene's ES project. Teachers, school board members, and community members were seeing some concrete results of their efforts, and they were pleased (by and large). The school was a hive of activity. New books, new programs, new equipment were springing up everywhere; and morale was high.*

Summer 1973: Preparations Continue

Preparations for the ES project did not stop during the summer of 1973. Only the Steering Committee had been left with little to do; teachers, on the other hand, were busy all summer. Two faculty members went to summer school to prepare for new classes, two went to an environmental (hiking and climbing) workshop on Mount Baker, and others attended vocational workshops. Workshops were also held within the district, such as a week-long training program which included preparation for use of the SRA (Science Research Associates) reading system and Fountain Valley teacher support system in the elementary school. The district funded a career education workshop, and it was followed immediately (August 30 and 31) by an ES-funded workshop on environmental education. Both were conducted by faculty members who had received training to run such workshops. ES funds had enabled them to attend training workshops held outside the district. The career education workshop training had occurred in eastern Washington, and the environmental education workshop training had taken place at the Marine Environmental Center in nearby Poulsbo.

In late spring, 1973, personnel changes had affected evaluation plans for the project. The half-time Internal Recorder had moved to Oregon with her family, and Jane Smith, the half-time Internal Evaluator (also chairperson of the Brinnon school board) had decided that the duties of her position were more than she wanted to undertake. She agreed to work occasionally during the following school year as a consultant. Preparations for the evaluation effort began on August 28, when a workshop on the subject took place. It was run by Dr. Stakan, an evaluation expert from Franklin-Pierce school district in Tacoma, Washington.

---

*However, even during this period, when most adult community members were enthusiastic, we never had a sense that either the ES project or any of its components were of great interest to many students.

The previous numbered page in the original document was blank.

From the perspective of the school districts, there were two big "sleepers" in their participation in the Experimental Schools program. The first was an unexpected shift from grant to contract status, with all of the attached accountability, strictures and extra paperwork. The second was the concept of evaluation.

As the ten districts moved closer to implementation of the plans, ES/Washington applied more pressure on them to engage in on-going formative evaluation. The problem was that no one knew what evaluation was supposed to do, or how to do it.

One of Quilcene's ES-funded visitations was to the Franklin-Pierce school district in Tacoma. Franklin-Pierce was one of the urban sites in the same Experimental Schools program, but with a year or so of experience for Quilcene to draw on. Moreover, they had a full-time evaluator--with a Ph.D.! Dr. Stakan was visited by the Quilcene ES Project Director, Mr. Cranston, and a long-term relationship was founded.

In the Spring of 1973, both Quilcene's Internal Recorder and the Internal Evaluator (school board member from Brinnon) tendered resignations. The Evaluator, with occasional help from an ISD evaluation consultant, was trying to assess student and faculty morale and attitudes. But she had too many other responsibilities, and it was with an almost audible sigh of relief that she was forced by lack of time to resign.

The next tack taken by Quilcene was to set up an in-service day on evaluation with Dr. Stakan as the consultant. He pointed out that evaluation was only worthwhile if it was of use to the faculty. Moreover, it should not be measured with hopeless ideals as goals. He urged that they not confuse goals with hopes,* that they be realistic in their aspirations, that they test for what they were teaching. He was aware of the high faculty turnover at Quilcene, and was also aware that there was no central curriculum plan toward which teachers could all work.

> "How do you organize a system with a high faculty turnover? How do you get curricular expectations which cut across the whole system?...A curriculum guide is a necessity. If you can't articulate what you are doing and how it fits in the program, then no one can defend your behavior." (Field Notes, 1973)

Dr. Stakan was not particularly impressed with the progress which had been made by the ISD consultant. Stakan wanted more specific measures, directed at specific goals, for the betterment of the faculty.

---

*A theme that ES/Washington's Ms. Robbins had consistently championed.

For many of the Quilcene faculty, however, there remained some very basic questions about the nature of an evaluation program. As one candid schoolperson put it (further on in the life of the project):

> "I have been working on this project [evaluation] for a year now, and I still have a couple of basic questions. For example--what is evaluation? What are we evaluating? Teachers? Program? Students? Who is to judge, and on what basis?" (Field Notes, 1975)

Or another, earlier on in the life of the project said:

> "They say that they want to evaluate my teaching methods. Well, a teacher's methods are not like a mechanic's tools, Goddamn it. What they are really trying to evaluate is ME, this human right here, and the question they are asking is--am I worth anything? Well, pardon me, but that's a bit threatening, don't you think? Wouldn't it be to you?" (Field Notes, 1973)

In this atmosphere, work on the curriculum guide was to begin in the fall. The Head Teacher of the elementary school was to become Curriculum Coordinator, and would be in charge of assembling the data for the guide. This was seen as the core of the emergent internal evaluation system, as well as the teachers' future guide.

The Quilcene school board had begun accepting applications for the position of superintendent Project Director as soon as Dr. Binkley's departure was assured. After reviewing numerous applications and interviewing several likely candidates, they selected Mr. Ilton, who had been a superintendent with another small school district on the Olympic Peninsula for several years.

Mr. Ilton arrived in July, and his first concerns had to do with school plant appearance. But once painting was begun, he turned his attention to administrative matters. Mr. Maldon was relieved of his duties as elementary Head Teacher and assigned the Curriculum Coordinator position. Mr. Xaily's position as High School principal was converted to a K-12 principalship. And Mr. Cranston was informed that the ES project would continue to be run by him as the Coordinator. Mr. Cranston commented that Mr. Ilton "certainly believes in delegating authority."

As the beginning of classes approached, a number of planned changes were ready to be implemented. To improve students' basic skills, the SRA reading program would be introduced in grades K-6. Accompanying this program was the Fountain Valley support system which provided internal evaluation, a systematic approach to problem diagnosis for individual students, and a tracking method to indicate each student's progress.

The Craig reading program in grades 7-12 would use reading machines in the newly carpeted and restocked library. These machines were under the supervision of the librarian, who had received training in their use. She was also assigned an aide in view of her increased workload. The Craig program was sufficiently wide-ranging to allow for remedial students and advanced students alike; however, the remedial problems were judged to be more critical. Reading scores from the 1973 California Achievement Tests for high school students demonstrated the need (see Table 6). Community members who wished to improve their reading skills were also granted access to the machines.

An "Interim Week" was again planned for the spring. (The first Interim Week had been held during the spring of 1973.) This week-long break from normal classes would give students the chance to travel (under faculty supervision) to nearby cities or to engage in other innovative activities, such as environmental education. As part of the environmental education component, science students would also do work at several environmental sites--Penny Creek, the Marine Environmental Lab, and the swamp behind the schools.

The Project Gets Underway

By the end of August new equipment and materials were arriving and faculty enthusiasm ran high during the unpacking:

> "Oh, look!" She held a new social studies text up for me to see. "And just look at what we've been using." She gestured toward the stack of old and broken books in the corner. "Isn't it lovely?"
>
> Another teacher bustled in with an empty book-cart.

Table 6: Quilcene High School Students' Total Reading Scores on the California Achievement Test: 1973

Grade	Number of Students			
	Above Grade Level	At Grade Level	1-2 years Below Grade Level	3 or more Years below Grade Level
12	7	3	7	8
11	5	3	8	4
10	9	3	9	8
9	9	5	10	5

> "Get to work! Get to work!" she shouted merrily. "No coffee breaks around here until we get these books unpacked."
>
> A third teacher poked his head in the door. "Have you seen the library? Better yet, have you walked in it?" He grinned at me. "Carpets, man, carpets! You'll be able to hear yourself think in there this year." (Field Notes, 1973.)

Not only could teachers see the concrete results of their own planning; they had won a priceless concession. From 8 to 9 A.M. each school day, they were to be paid to plan and organize their day. This hour was to be used not only for group meetings but also for individual teacher curriculum planning. The result was to be a curriculum guide of their own construction. Each faculty member was to turn in a weekly lesson plan; these would be combined to form the basis for the guide. A few faculty members resisted the imposition on their autonomy, but most were enthusiastic about the concept.

Some planned innovations, however, were necessarily postponed. These innovations were intimately connected to building renovations and equipment which ES/Washington had been reluctant to approve.

The expanded shop/manual arts program depended on the installation of a spray painting booth and welding stations. Both of these additions constituted fire hazards which required certain structural modifications. The Quilcene ES project staff argued that as part of the Experimental Schools project the renovations should properly be funded by ES/Washington, as well as the equipment and its installation.

The arts and crafts program and Ranger Industries were both tied to the same equipment/room renovations. An unused portion of the gym/cafeteria building was to be rebuilt to house these two components. This would require some modifications in the existing structure (including, of course, patching the leaky roof), the installation of ceramic equipment (though the kiln was to go into the expanded shop downstairs), and the addition of a fire escape on the rear face of the building.

Finally, the auto mechanics component required a workshop. For this, one bay of the bus shed had been designated as the spot to be rebuilt into an auto mechanics shop, and to be stocked with the appropriate tools and equipment.

Although reluctant to pay for such renovations, ES/Washington did finally fund them.

> In the beginning, the Project Officer from NIE kept saying, "No equipment, no hardware, no building projects. But we knew we needed equipment to run our programs. We kept insisting, knowing--hoping, anyway--that we would win out in the end. You see how it worked." (Field Notes, 1975.)

Work on all construction contracts was begun in August of 1973, and the auto mechanics shop was opened in time for school in September. The other two renovations were to become thorns in the collective side.

Political Maneuvering Intrudes

In Washington, D.C., a decision was made to change the ES funds from grants to contracts in order to more closely monitor the expenditure of funds (Herriott, 1979). In late October, a team of three persons from ES/Washington arrived to acquaint the Quilcene Project personnel with the revisions necessary in the NIE-Quilcene agreements as a result of the shift from grant to contract. Special meetings were held with the school boards and ES personnel. During these meetings, Mr. Ilton, the new superintendent-Project Director, absented himself frequently. The NIE/ES Project Officer at first hinted, then bluntly requested that he remain present, but he paid her little heed. When he did attend, his comments were neither informed nor to the point. The other Quilcene staff were embarrased by his attitude and behavior.

Some problems were raised as well. The ES/Washington personnel felt that the post-funding success of the Quilcene project was endangered by its extreme reliance on key personnel--particularly the arts and crafts instructor, who was also in charge of Ranger Industries, and the science teacher responsible for the environmental education program. The ES/Washington officials were concerned about the waning of community input and requested more effort along those lines. They wondered why the Project Steering Committee had not met since May. Finally, they were worried about the state of the arts and crafts room renovations, which were still not complete, and the fact that the spraypainting booth in the shop (another ES expenditure) was inoperable. The central message of the team visit was clear: there must be closer adherence to the original ES goals for comprehensive change outlined in the original Announcement (see Chapters 1 and 12).

There must be more careful planning, more careful record-keeping, more accountability, more community involvement, and district support of programs after the ES contract expired.

A secondary though important aspect of the visit was to get a clearer picture of Brinnon's position and involvement in the Quilcene ES project. There were two quite distinct concerns in Brinnon about this involvement. The first was that by incorporating some of Brinnon's curricular decisions within the Quilcene Plan, the Quilcene administration was moving toward administrative unity. That, it was felt, was all too close to consolidation. The second concern was tactical in that the planned components of the Quilcene project did not fit Brinnon's multi-grade classroom situation. As long as the funding condition had been a grant, the Brinnon faculty felt they could withdraw if cooperation became difficult. How would their autonomy be affected as a part of Quilcene's contract? Was Brinnon to lose its autonomy and become a legal satellite of the Quilcene project?

During the visit the Project Officer, the representative from NIE's contracts office, and the Brinnon school board chairperson worked out mutually agreeable wording for a subcontract that would permit a Brinnon withdrawal with no ill effects on the Quilcene project. Three days later, two more NIE officials visited Quilcene. One was the national director of Experimental Schools, the other a major assistant. At the same time it was announced that the evaluation expert from Franklin-Pierce, Dr. Stakan, on whom the Quilcene staff had been relying heavily, had been hired as an evaluation consultant for all of NIE's Experimental Schools.

Despite Mr. Ilton's *de facto* delegation of authority over the Quilcene ES project to Mr. Cranston, the Experimental Schools Coordinator, the chain of command problems in the Quilcene schools still caused tension. Mr. Xaily began to receive the brunt of this tension. His job description had been suddenly changed from high school to K-12 principal. He had been principal under the previous administration when discipline had been an enormous issue in the schools. He had had poor relations with the school board in the past. Moreover, definite signs of discordant relations appeared between the superintendent and the ES Coordinator on the one hand, and the superintendent and principal on the other.

> Four teachers, Mr. Xaily, and Ms. Landy, the Internal Evaluation Assistant, were talking in the newly redecorated faculty lounge. Conversation was animated and easy. Mr. Ilton, the superintendent, came in and looked around at the staff present. He got a cup of coffee and sat down at the table as the principal washed out his cup to leave. Mr. Xaily started out the door.
>
> Ilton: "Hey Xaily!"
>
> Xaily: "Yea? It's Mr. Xaily, by the way."
>
> Ilton: "Sure. I found a use for that pipe of yours finally. I used it to prop open the window."
>
> Xaily: "Was it mine or Mike's?"
>
> Ilton: "No, it was yours."
>
> Xaily is clearly angry, his lips are tight.
>
> Ilton: "Yea, well. I notice you don't suck on that thing in my office anymore."
>
> Xaily: "Well, I'm pretty particular where I smoke."
>
> Ms. Landy claps, laughs, and Xaily leaves.
>
> Ilton: "You thought Xaily was pretty clever, didn't you, Alice?"
>
> Landy: "Frankly, I thought you really deserved it. You were asking for it." (Field Notes, 1973.)

A second set of Abt Associates questionnaires to be filled out by students arrived in the fall. Mr. Cranston again felt the questionnaires were, at best, indelicate. Remembering the parental disapproval he had faced over the first batch in the spring of 1973, he put the problem into Mr. Ilton's lap. Mr. Ilton, evidently spooked by stories of the previous spring, refused to administer the questionnaires without school board approval. The school board did not immediately act on the matter, and the questionnaires remained in their boxes.

Much as the Quilcene ES project had an ES/Washington Project Officer assigned to it, an ES/Washington Research Project Officer oversaw Abt Associates' external evaluation effort. The Research Project Officer spoke with Abt's Cambridge personnel over the telephone about the delay in Quilcene. They agreed that the questionnaires were essential and that governmental pressure should be applied to encourage administration of the questionnaires. But Quilcene's superintendent remained intransigent. Soon the new Project Officer in charge of the Quilcene contract and the new ES/Washington Evaluation Consultant (Dr. Stakan) arrived in Quilcene. These two men and the Quilcene school board decided it was necessary to discuss the matter with Abt Associates, so the director of Abt Associates' study agreed to come to Quilcene. The Quilcene board set up two meetings for December 12. The first was to be a combined meeting of the two school boards with the ES/Washington Project Officer, Mr. Cranston, Mr. Xaily, Mr. Ilton, and an Intermediate School District official. This meeting to discuss the goals and directions of the two school systems in light of the ES project was to be closed. The second meeting was to include the Abt Associates personnel and we were granted admission to it. The second meeting seemed inconclusive, and a third, public meeting was deemed necessary to decide the pupil questionnaire issue. It was scheduled for January 17, 1974.

The January 17 meeting was anticlimactic. It was billed in the Quilcene school newsletter as a public meeting with federal officials and Abt Associates personnel to inform the Quilcene community about the nature and status of the ES project. No mention was made of the pupil questionnaires, and they were administered with only a little more prodding and no adverse effects.

In the meanwhile, administrative tensions had flared into conflict over the Arts and Crafts renovation. Mr. Ilton claimed that the building contractor was not complying with state standards because of the contractor's (and Mr. Cranston's) inadequate planning. Mr. Cranston tried to ease the impact of Mr. Ilton's interference, but Mr. Ilton called the work to a halt and arranged for a State Fire Marshal inspection. When the Fire Marshal arrived to meet with the superintendent and to inspect the renovation work, Mr. Ilton absented himself on personal business. The Fire Marshall closed the arts and crafts room until the major faults could be corrected. In addition, he declared the shop to be substandard since a dust collection system was lacking and the spraypainting booth was inadequate.

In early January the faculty made a formal presentation of the current status of the Experimental Schools project to the school board, touching upon what had been accomplished in the classroom and the effect it was having on Quilcene students.

The presentation began with an overview by Mr. Cranston, the ES Project Coordinator. Then the Curriculum Coordinator spoke briefly about the general thrust of the elementary school effort. The meat of the program was presented by the teachers in turn. All of the teachers were enthusiastic about the SRA reading program, though some stressed certain aspects over others. Some teachers were especially impressed with the success of the vocabulary booster in the program.

The new social studies program got an even review, with one teacher approving and one disapproving. A big plus was given to the elementary library which had been established in the elementary building. The aide program provided a librarian for the elementary school, as well.

The high school teacher review of Experimental Schools project components was also favorable. But the librarian/reading teacher noted that the Craig reading system didn't go low enough--she had some high school students reading below a fourth grade level. On the other hand, she said most kids were enjoying the chance to see how fast they could go. She pointed out that there were free hours on the Craig machines, and that the community members were free to use them.

The new English program series had been chosen for "pre-Craig" students. Thus it was now proving to be too low for several of the classes, whose students had improved their skills markedly with the Craig machines. On the other hand, another replied, the kids on the Craig machines are gaining in comprehension quickly, but getting nowhere in technical knowledge. She pointed out that they were still unable to diagram, or to write.

The school board listened intently, and with some pleasure, as teachers who, two years earlier would not even have attended such a meeting, engaged in animated dialogue.

The expanded shop and the auto mechanics class teachers were very pleased with progress, though the shop construction problems were still not ironed out. Ranger Industries and the arts and crafts classes were still without their upstairs rooms, as construction crawled on. Nevertheless, the arts and crafts classes were chalking up notable successes in the use of local environments in settings, and local materials in their work.

The old principal's office in the high school building had been converted to a "Model Office" for the business classes, and the business teacher was pleased with it. She was conducting On the Job Training classes in the little office, and the classes were providing secretarial services to some of the faculty--typing, duplicating, filing, and so on.

The science program seemed also to be progressing, utilizing more and more the local environment as a laboratory. The Penny Creek area, which had been intended to serve as a wild observation/experimentation lab, turned out to be just too far to transport classes during the school day.

The math program was most problematic, as most of the students simply did not have the basic skills to do the work. The teacher pointed out, however, that this academic year they were emphasizing the implementation of reading improvement, and gearing up for the math push for next year.

Overall, the board was pleased. The subsequent tour of the plant with the new equipment and the apparently improved morale furthered their satisfaction with the progress of the Experimental School project.

By the end of January the tension within the administrative staff of Quilcene School were such that Mr. Cranston was thinking of resigning. Mr. Xaily, feeling pressure from Mr. Ilton and from the board, was worried that his job was endangered. The board was disenchanted with both Mr. Ilton and Mr. Xaily and was relying heavily on Mr. Cranston for decision-making. It was even considering Mr. Cranston as a possible principal for the coming year (Experimental Schools, 1974). The superintendent was spending a lot of time away from his office.

These tensions permeated all aspects of school administration. The wife of one faculty member had completed all the requirements for a teaching certificate except student teaching. She asked Mr. Xaily to help her set up a student teaching situation to be supervised by a Quilcene elementary teacher. Mr. Xaily made arrangements with Western Washington State College. Mr. Ilton discovered that Mr. Xaily was making these arrangements and put in his own call to the college, whereupon the request was denied. A month later, Mr. Xaily again called the college and finally got permission for the student teaching arrangement--the first and only student teacher Quilcene has ever had. However, the student was in the school nearly two months before Mr. Ilton knew she was there.

The administrative dispute that settled Mr. Xaily's fate, however, concerned the schedule for 1974-75. Mr. Ilton told Mr. Xaily to prepare a schedule which eliminated the morning planning session for teachers.

Mr. Xaily, Mr. Cranston, and the faculty all felt that the planning session was extremely valuable and should be maintained. The faculty had rejected the elimination of the planning hour in the annual negotiations with the school board which were just then occurring. The schedule was written to include half-hour planning sessions, but Mr. Ilton decided that Mr. Xaily should be formally reprimanded for not taking the administration's part in the issue.

The Implementation Year Draws to a Close

In mid-April of 1974 the second Interim Week was held. This time more exotic varieties of classes were available, and students were enthusiastic. As in the first Interim, a number of high school girls went to a beauty shop in Port Angeles for a minicourse. But the real show stealers in 1974 were the travel classes. The first grade teacher took a number of high school students to Seattle on bikes to tour Seattle and stay in her home there. This class was jammed with applications. Since this teacher was new in 1973-74, she did not know most of the high school students. Mr. Cranston helped her decide which students should go. Although selection was based mostly on seniority, students who had been troublesome in the school were refused admission on the assumption that they would cause trouble on a trip the administration felt was potentially touchy. Nevertheless the class was a smashing success.

The second most popular event in the 1974 Interim was a large hiking and climbing class led by two high school faculty members who had attended a Mount Baker hiking/climbing school. This class included hiking and camping in the snow, climbing, and rapelling. Other classes included fly-tying, sailing, mechanics, industrial arts and some individual programs. The junior high students engaged in a community works class. They constructed street signs and set them up on all the streets in Quilcene. It was a highly visible job which brought a great deal of praise from the community. As in most endeavors which involve out-of-the-ordinary activities by school people, the 1974 Interim brought both a breath of fresh praise and some protest. The protesters were few in number but loud. They claimed that the classes were a waste of money and time, that students "got a free vacation," and that faculty members were poorly prepared to teach the classes. Yet the majority of community members were apparently satisfied that Interim was worthwhile. Nevertheless, the Project Coordinator considered dropping Interim as a part of the ES project. The two or three complaints per year were enough to make them believe there would be trouble over Interim in the future.

Other aspects of the ES project were not happening as smoothly as hoped. Quilcene's original Plan included a phaseout of ES-supported staff members. The Plan was written while teaching jobs were still widely available and while conditions in the Quilcene school induced considerable annual turnover. ES/Washington staff had questioned the Quilcene administrators on the planned turnover in 1972, but the Plan had gone through anyway. Now, in the spring of 1974, with jobs much scarcer in the country and internal conditions for teachers much better in Quilcene, the expected turnover was not materializing. Only one resignation was assured and that position was one that had to be filled.

The school was overstaffed by three to four people, and ES funds were not available to continue support of those positions. The district faced a very touchy situation. Moreover, the shop was still not considered suitable by the Fire Marshal, who insisted it needed a dust collection system to meet state requirements. There was some carryover money from the previous year's ES budget, and although it was possible to reallocate and use this money, it was not enough to pay both the bill for the dust collection system and the staff members' salaries.

On May 6, 1974, a school board meeting was held at which this financial problem was discussed. Dr. Stakan, by now a full-time consultant to ES/Washington, was also present.

> Mr. Ilton: "We have no RIFF policy.* In this state the minute you sign a contract the teacher has tenure...Only one person has indicated the possibility of resignation, and that person is a specialist. The right person hasn't resigned." (He displayed newspaper clippings concerning various legal battles over teacher dismissals elsewhere.) "Right now we don't need this in Quilcene...." He continued, "In lieu of this... we could cut out all in-services...maybe get eight or nine thousand...there is no one you can name totally in NIE funds but Mr. Cranston and the Curriculum Coordinator. Both have been here a long time...."

---

*Reduction in Faculty Force: a policy for dealing with the situation where there are too many teachers and too little money to pay their salaries.

> Mr. Cranston brought up the dust collection problem.
>
> Mr. Ilton: "That will cost about ten thousand. We want to refinance one teacher [from NIE funds] plus half of the dust collection...."
>
> Dr. Stakan: "It won't be easy to convince NIE. You probably can't on the building repair when Quilcene's not putting their own money in. We probably can help with staff for one year, but will need a Plan change. Frankly I don't think we can do both.... The time to do all this was back then when the system was going in. To say we've put X dollars into machinery and still can't get it to work is poor sales. It would be illegal for us to bail you out of this....There needs to be a local effort."
>
> Mr. Ilton: "What's a local effort--a buck?" (Field Notes, 1974.)

This financial problem was left unresolved by the board meeting. In contrast, Quilcene's recurrent fiscal drama, the vote on the levy, proved to be much less tense in 1974 than it had been the previous year.

> Once again the three women huddled over the charts of voters in the faculty lounge, adding up votes. It had been a quiet year; people's preferences were not evident. Coffee brewed on the counter and several of the regulars sprawled in the chairs around the room. They finished their regular count and were not really sure, but felt it must have passed. In fact it did, with ease. (Field Notes, 1974.)

A number of factors may have accounted for the levy's painless passage. School-community relations were smooth. Memories of Mr. Binkley's ouster were relatively fresh. Perhaps it was simply that the school's former weatherbeaten appearance had been considerably spruced up and was now a very visible source of pride. The roof of the gym/cafeteria had been fixed, the plumbing and wiring had been improved, paint had been applied where needed, and the old high school building was well on its way to possessing a new face. Furthermore, several student projects had contributed to a very attractive lawn area.

The administrative tensions noted before were building up to a climax. In mid-April, Mr. Cranston tendered his resignation to the school board, which promptly rejected it. He was persuaded to maintain his position for the remainder of the year. At this point, Mr. Cranston was mostly interested in returning to his teaching position in the district. He had had it with internal politics. Mr. Cranston was soon cheered, even if Mr. Ilton was not, by Dr. Stakan's appointment as ES/Washington's Project Officer for Quilcene and several other west coast sites. He was the third Project Officer for Quilcene since the inception of the program.

There still remained the battle between Mr. Ilton and the principal, Mr. Xaily. It drew to a head toward the end of the school year. Mr. Ilton formally reprimanded the principal in writing and presented the reprimand to the school board. The Quilcene Education Association formally protested the reprimand, supporting Mr. Xaily. On that sour note the school year ended.

Some teachers prepared to attend various summer programs to be paid for by the ES project. Once again they had specific goals--improving particular components of the school program. Other teachers planned to work on implementation in the elementary school.

> Smoke from the fire drifted lazily out over Quilcene Bay. Teachers sat on logs or the ground around the fire, roasting hot dogs, drinking beer, relaxing at the end-of-year teacher party.
>
> "It's been a long year," laughed one.
>
> "And one of the hardest," added another.
>
> Conversation turned to specific events of the year and guarded anticipation of the next. Disappointment was expressed by some teachers that Mr. Ilton had not found employment elsewhere.
>
> "Aren't we the lucky ones, though?"
>
> "Yeah, we get to keep him another year." (Field Notes, 1974).

241

CHAPTER 14: THE YEAR OF ABSORPTION

Though funded for two subsequent years (at reduced levels), the ES project effectively ran down in 1974-75. The excitement and enthusiasm of the previous year was gradually dissipating, ultimately to be replaced by the humdrum atmosphere more typical of schools.

The ES Project and Administrative Musical Chairs

The school board finally took action on the superintendent/principal dispute in July. It offered Mr. Xaily only a continuation of his past year's contract, with the stipulation that he try harder to conform to the administrative demands of the district. Mr. Xaily saw this as a clear statement of support for Mr. Ilton. At the same time, an old friend wrote him a letter asking if there was any chance he might come to take a principalship in that district. Indeed there was. He rejected the board's offer and left.

The search for a new principal did not last long. The board had long been considering the possibility of appointing Mr. Cranston as acting principal in an attempt to convince him to get his credentials. It offered him the job and Mr. Cranston accepted. This was the second time he had deliberated over an administrative promotion and decided in favor.

In late summer, just before school opened, the Quilcene and Brinnon districts held a workshop on career education in Quilcene School. A state career education specialist was invited and spoke to the faculty. Dr. Stakan, now the ES/Washington Project Officer, told the faculty that the money saved by the recent administrative shifts (see Figure 10) could quite likely be reallocated for career education programs as long as it was to be spent in reasonable ways and not for equipment or personnel.

By the fall of 1974, ES-funded programs permeated the Quilcene system. Even if a student did spend the year in classes untouched directly by the ES project, the increase in morale and improvement in attitudes which accompanied that project would affect the student's school experience that year.

Mr. Cranston's appointment as principal marked the final incorporation of the ES project into the old administrative structure of the school. The merging of the ES Coordinator and principal in one person solidified the earlier, conservative ES/Washington decision to place ultimate ES responsibility

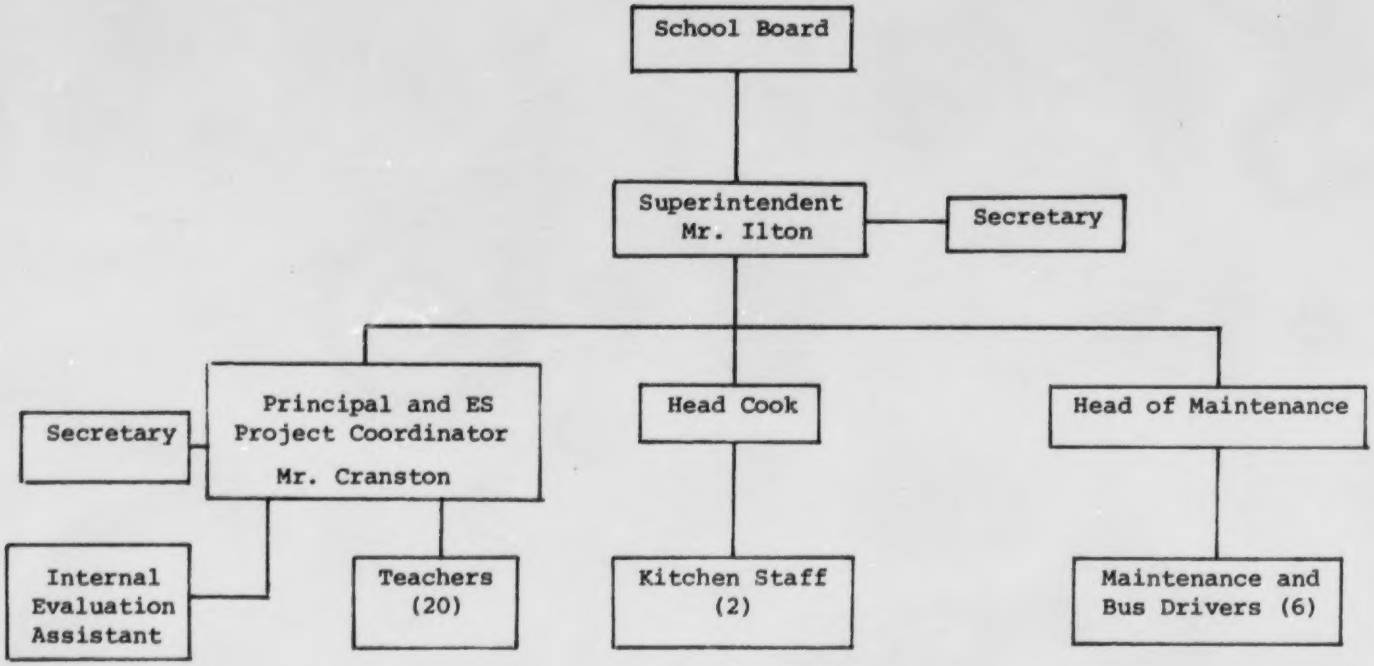

School Board
Superintendent Mr. Ilton
Secretary
Principal and ES Project Coordinator Mr. Cranston
Head Cook
Head of Maintenance
Secretary
Internal Evaluation Assistant
Teachers (20)
Kitchen Staff (2)
Maintenance and Bus Drivers (6)

Figure 10. Organization of the Quilcene School System after Absorption of its ES Project: 1974-75

and power with the superintendent. These events precluded the development of alternative school administrative structures as part of the ES project.

Mr. Cranston established a system of weekly meetings with teachers. In addition, he held administrative meetings with elementary teachers on Wednesdays and with secondary teachers on Thursdays during their morning half-hour sessions. Finally, he established a system of monthly in-service days. These three innovations followed the pattern of faculty cooperation and initiative that had marked ES planning. They served to underline and continue the faculty's new-found sense of worth.

Mr. Cranston jokingly referred to himself (and indeed was seen by some faculty members) as authoritarian. In fact, however, the fall of 1974 marked a continued upswing in faculty participation in decision-making and program planning. Using faculty materials gathered the year before, two teachers worked with an Intermediate School District representative on the emerging curriculum guide. The fall of 1974 saw some changes in personnel. Mr. Xaily's wife (the second grade teacher) and a coach had accompanied him to another school district; the first grade teacher and the high school English teacher had resigned as well. The Curriculum Coordinator, Mr. Maldon, returned to classroom teaching. These changes and Mr. Cranston's assumption of the principalship solved the personnel funding problem, and three new teachers joined the Quilcene staff.

Changes in programs also occurred. The school cook began teaching a class on commercial food handling and baking at the secondary level. Vocational cooking involved actual work in the kitchen. Supervised by the cook and her assistants, students learned to cook for large numbers of people by preparing lunch for the students in school.

Another innovative program, Ranger Industries, underwent a spurt in growth, expanding from 12 "employees" to 37. Although Ranger Industries was a student-operated business, it was part of the curriculum. Students functioned as public relations people, producers, salespeople, stockholders, accountants,. secretaries--roles truly parallel to occupational roles. Ranger Industries had extensive contacts with the community and with the actual operation of their own and other businesses. Students sold stock to community residents, sold their products to various local businesses and to private individuals, and engaged in a wide variety of actual business ventures.

Students were organized within the class as though they were part of a business. They had to make applications to take the class, just as a prospective employee would; their applications were reviewed by the students assigned to personnel duties. The teacher's duties were primarily advisory; the students actually ran things to the extent this was possible.

That fall, production was increased. In addition to the ceramic gifts, cod jigs, shrimp traps, and crab measures made the year before, Ranger Industries offered crab traps, cider presses, wind chimes, and silkscreen tee-shirt decorating. The impact of Ranger Industries was felt outside Quilcene. In October, six student employees and the faculty advisor attended an educational professional workshop on the Kitsap Peninsula and gave two one-hour presentations on Ranger Industries as a classroom-based work-experience program.

Another educational change taking place in the fall of 1974 had originally been funded by the ES project. The Quilcene Preschool Coop had decided to create a toy lending library. This idea was imported to Quilcene from a Seattle conference attended on ES funds, and was being exported from Quilcene to other places in Jefferson County.

The last of the Quilcene ES project components to be started that year was the independent studies program. This was designed to increase the electives available to Quilcene High School students in a system that, by its nature and size, could not offer the array of subjects available at large urban schools. The district contracted with the University of Nebraska to provide correspondence courses. These were taken by individual students, who would spend some class time working on the course under the supervision of a faculty member. The program was begun in January of 1975 with only a few offerings, but was expanded considerably by the end of the year.

The mathematics program, which was to have been a major component of the Experimental Schools project, was in fact abandoned in favor of a small-scale program written by the mathematics teacher and funded from other sources.

Once more, Abt Associates' research efforts brought out latent administrative tensions in Quilcene. This time, the uproar was caused by questionnaires that were to be filled out by professional staff members. (Actually, the Abt professional personnel questionnaires had been problematic at nearly all the sites. Response rates ranged from 50 to 95 percent overall; some faculty members at all sites simply refused to participate.) Mr. Cranston maintained that faculty members were gaining from the ES project and so owed it to the "feds" to fill out the questionnaires. Mr. Ilton felt differently: he openly disparaged the research effort in 1974. Mr. Ilton's goad at the research effort (and concomitantly at Mr. Cranston's support of it) was one more symbolic manifestation of the two administrators' mutual antagonism. Certainly some of this antagonism arose from the lack of any clear separation of responsibilities between the two administrators, a situation alluded to in several reports by ES/Washington Project Officers.

Internal evaluation also continued to be troublesome. Ms. Landy and the other members of the faculty evaluation committee felt unable to do the work. They felt that it was unfair that Dr. Stakan "knew what to do" and simply would not tell them what it was. He gave Ms. Landy some statistics books to study. She said that that was fine, since she now knew how to calculate a standard deviation, but that unfortunately she still did not know what it was or how it applied to evaluating the school program.

Like other ES/Washington Project Officers before him, Dr. Stakan, in his attempt not to influence the progress of the district's attempts at evaluation, simply appeared (from the district's point of view) to be acting capriciously. But Ms. Landy, Mr. Cranston, and the two faculty members on the committee were particularly aggrieved, since Dr. Stakan had suggested the entire idea of the evaluation committee as something being tried in another of the sites for which he was responsible.

In Brinnon, 1974-75 was a year of confrontation for the tiny school. During that year, two citizens' committees formed: one wanted consolidation with Quilcene or some other nearby district, and one demanded a long list of improvements in Brinnon School. Though consolidation was ruled out for lack of community support, the election of new school board members suggests some community sympathy with the idea that some changes were in order. The time involved in trying to resolve these issues further eroded the minimal time the Brinnon school was devoting to ES participation.

For the National Institute of Education, ES/Washington's parent organization, 1974 was a tough year as well. Congressional pressure was severe, and there was talk both in Abt Associates and in the local school districts about the impact that reduced funding for NIE might have on the ES projects. The internal organization of the Institute was under some reshuffling pressures as well. In particular, the position of Experimental

Schools was in question. The original director had attempted to be very protective of the projects (Sproull et al., 1978). However, in the early months of 1975, a panel of NIE personnel was in the process of assessing the ES program in general. A team of inspectors visited selected ES projects, arriving in Quilcene in mid-February. Despite faculty and administration testimonials to school improvement, the NIE team was not particularly impressed with the ES project at Quilcene or with Experimental Schools nationwide (Doyle et al., 1975).

ES-sponsored field trips continued in the spring of 1975. In March, elementary students made field trips to the Marine Environmental Center in Poulsbo, and business education students went to Tacoma and Olympia to visit some business colleges. Also during March, Quilcene students had art work on display at the gallery in Port Townsend.

The third Interim Week occurred in the spring. This time it was followed by a survey of the parents whose children had participated. The parents overwhelmingly approved the continuation of Interim (on a scale of 1 to 5--negative to positive--the mean was 4.4). Moreover, 85% indicated a willingness to pay for the next year's Interim (Quilcene Public Schools, 1975a).

The community voted on the levy on April 1, 1975 and to everyone's surprise, the levy was defeated. Though anti-levy sentiment may have been greater than generally believed, the levy's failure was widely attributed to the county's new policy of automatically mailing absentee ballots to any citizen who lived a certain number of miles from the polling place. At any rate the school protested that policy; it was changed, and the levy passed the second time around.

Administrative tensions continued that spring. The school board unsuccessfully requested Mr. Ilton's resignation. Despite this apparent statement of support for Mr. Cranston, that administrator had had all of the administrative tension he wanted. Since he had been promised his teaching job when the ES Project was over, he felt quite free to resign his principalship as well as the ES project Coordinator position. He tendered his resignation in May of 1975, and no amount of persuasion could change his mind.

By the spring of 1975, the Experimental Schools project was firmly imbedded in the Quilcene curriculum, impossible to separate as a distinct entity. It had nevertheless increased the cost of school operation, and that extra cost was of considerable concern to the district. ES funds were paying for two teachers, four aides, and the entire mechanic shop program, including the teacher. The phaseout problems were severe and it did not seem probable that all these extras would be carried after the Experimental Schools funding was gone.

A Teacher Strike Threatens

Meanwhile, around levy time, salary negotiations began between the Quilcene Education Association (the teachers' union) and the school board. Inflation had played havoc with the buying power of teachers' salaries, and school funding problems had precluded regular salary increases.

This year teachers were angry about their low salaries, the administrative style of the superintendent, and the lack of job security. Their morale was up; Quilcene School was a much more pleasant place in which to work. Teachers continued to have opportunities for further training and for monthly information updates in specific areas. They were no longer "stagnating," and they wanted a better financial deal.

Negotiations dragged on through the summer. The many meetings between the Quilcene Education Association and school board representatives yielded no solution. The teachers began preparing for a strike that nobody wanted.

In July, a new principal was hired. Mr. Paisley came to Quilcene largely as a result of the ES project; he saw a great deal of possibility in the position in terms of professional experience. Within two weeks of Mr. Paisley's arrival, Mr. Ilton found another position elsewhere and resigned as of August. His replacement as superintendent, Dr. Hanson, was hired the same month. Mr. Paisley and Dr. Hanson were the second and third outside administrators hired during the life of the ES project.

Dr. Hanson also came to Quilcene largely as a result of the ES project. He saw the district as one ready for molding and improvement, as evidenced by its participation in Experimental Schools. Dr. Hanson was young, dynamic, and aggressive. His experience with other federal programs in the Intermediate School District position he had held prepared him for the relationship with ES/Washington. He was intensely interested in community participation in the educational process--a matter which had been central to the original ES/Washington requests in the Experimental Schools five-year plan.

One of his first duties was to enter the treacherous waters of teacher salary negotiations. School was about to begin. Teachers refused to budge from their demand for 11% salary increases. The school board was adamant in its position that the school could barely afford 8% raises, let alone 11%. Tempers were short, and people on each side were beginning to question the worth and integrity of people on the other side.

Finally, shortly after school had opened, a state arbitration team was brought in while parents, teachers, and administrators made contingency plans in case the teachers decided to strike. The arbitrators, the school board, and the representatives of the Quilcene Education Association negotiated all day, all night, and again the next day. A strike was barely averted, and though the teachers gained some financial benefit, they were not happy with the result.

> As I entered the library for the September school board meeting, I noticed no visitors were there. Dr. Hanson and the school board members were discussing the details of the negotiation process. Mr. Johnson was saying, "But I thought the teachers would have gotten a better deal if they'd accepted the first package. I don't understand why they chose the one they did." Dr. Hanson grinned conspiratorily, and said, "I don't know, but let's not knock it. The less said the better." The board turned to routine matters. (Field Notes, 1975.)

Despite the near-strike, these new administrators, young, full of energy and plans, were responsible for another boost in Quilcene School morale.

In Sum

Quilcene School in the fall of 1975 was a very different place from the school we first visited in 1972. Yet the differences were largely in attitudes. True, there were changes in equipment lists, and some classes had been added. The personal styles of the administrators were different, but the organizational structure was not. Finally, the sociocultural messages delivered in the school in classrooms, gymnasium, and playground (as noted in Part II) had not changed.

PART FOUR

CONCLUSIONS AND COMMENTARY

Throughout Parts I and II, we have presented fairly straightforward ethnographic analyses of Quilcene as a community and of its school as an institution of enculturation. Our documentation of the course of Quilcene's Experimental Schools project (Part III) has likewise been factual and uncontroversial in nature.

It is now, however, incumbent upon us to venture into a more speculative and theoretical arena, as we try to specify just what accounted for the outcome of Quilcene's ES project. In Chapter 15, "Experimental Schools in Summary," we offer some generalizations about the kinds of change that occurred and did not occur in Quilcene's school system. We first discuss changes in the physical setting and specific curricular improvements that came out of the ES project, as well as some more systemic changes such as the curriculum guide and teacher training. Chapter 15 ends with a discussion of the innovations that had some potential for altering the behavioral regularities that characterize Quilcene's schools.

In Chapter 16, "Three Approaches to Change," we enter the murky waters of educational evaluation. The waters are murky because of the lack of general agreement about what constitutes "good education." As indicated earlier, "education" has important symbolic connotations in American culture (in Washington, D.C. as well as in Quilcene). In recognition of the diverse goals of educational improvement and the diverse ideas about what constitutes meaningful "comprehensive" change, we present three perspectives: the funding agency's, the community's, and our own. We conclude with a discussion of the apparent interaction of these perspectives and of their impacts on the overall change effort.

Chapter 17, "On Models and Muddles and Symbols that Fly," first condenses a number of available models of social organization into a meta-model that we feel summarizes the culture of Quilcene most succinctly.*

---

*In presenting this model, we are not unaware of the male bias (cf. data in Chapters 3 and 5) it implies. The pervasiveness of this kind of bias, and the difficulties of avoiding it, are discussed insightfully in a collection of studies edited by S. Ardener, called Perceiving Women (1975; see especially, E. Ardener, pp. 1-28).

Within this framework, the kinds of beliefs, assumptions and expectations that, taken together, served to inhibit meaningful change, are discussed. We conclude with an account of the single most powerful and identifiable mechanism inhibiting change in the Quilcene school system: committees of crisis.

CHAPTER 15: EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOLS IN SUMMARY

The first half of this chapter summarizes the specific, and generally agreed upon, changes that occurred as a result of Quilcene's participation in the federal Experimental Schools program. These fall into two categories: plant and classroom changes, and systemic program changes. We then discuss some potential ramifications of project elements that were aspects of the hidden curriculum. Although changes of this kind were minimal, we present them in the hope of broadening the general perception or definition of what "comprehensive" change might mean.

Plant and Classroom Change

During the three years that we lived in the community, the obtrusive changes which occurred in Quilcene Schools were, from the community perspective, important ones. Not all of these changes were paid for by the ES monies, but they were certainly instigated and made possible by Quilcene's participation in the ES program. Plant improvements included:

- an expanded, re-built manual arts shop, including welding and painting facilities;
- a new auto mechanics shop;
- a new arts and crafts area, with a special Ranger Industries section;
- new stairwells and fire escape attached to the arts and crafts area;
- a renovated secondary library and a new elementary library;
- a model business office;
- a freshly painted plant; and
- clean, well-tended grounds with renovated tennis courts and athletic fields.

While the re-built high school was not paid for with ES funds, certainly the bond floated for its renovation was made more palatable in the community by the definite improvement in the plant resulting from the ES project.

Curricular changes also had an important impact on the community assessment of the schools. These changes were widespread and touched all grades and all students. They included:

- a revised reading program in all grades K-12;
- a new career awareness program in all grades K-12;
- a new "environmental science" aspect in all science classes;
- a new auto mechanics program;
- an expanded manual arts program;
- a new arts and crafts program in all grades; and
- a new correspondence course option in the high school.

There were a number of smaller pieces of these curriculum additions which were of significant importance within the community. Students were enthusiastic about the photography class added as part of the science program, as well as about the Ranger Industries addition to the vocational/ arts and crafts classes. Adult education classes were begun during the life of ES though not paid for out of ES funds.

One of the obtrusive changes which occurred as a direct result of ES, however, was the change in school morale. This was a result of many things in the project, all of which added up to an increased sense of worth and participation which permeated the school in 1975.

These changes must not be slighted in importance. Certainly, if the original ES/Washington program goals are taken literally, the ES project in Quilcene was a smashing success. That is, the original goals called for a program which was locally planned and defined in terms of locally perceived needs. That is precisely what happened in Quilcene. It is clear, however, that ES/Washington hoped for much more than the school district up-grading which occurred in Quilcene. That their hopes depended on a sense of vision and imagination is significant, for this is precisely what was clearly lacking in all ten ES projects. In the next sections we demonstrate how various aspects of the bureaucratic (both local and national) and community contexts of ES functioned consistently to squelch emerging possibilities for local vision and creativity.

Systemic Program Change

The preparation of a curriculum guide was a valuable exercise for several reasons. One of the major community complaints about the school in 1972-73 was the lack of coordination from one year to the next regarding what the students learned. People complained, "How many times do they have to learn that Columbus discovered America in 1492?"

The curriculum guide solved that problem. But the creation of a curriculum guide was also important for the teachers' morale. The teachers created it themselves. They planned what they would be teaching (based on what they had taught before and the improvements they wanted to initiate), they coordinated their efforts, and they saw that they could have an impact on important elements of school life. The fact that they were responding to and solving a widely perceived problem within Quilcene School gave them a sense of purpose and kept a sizable task from seeming like drudgery. If the curriculum guide is to remain the useful document it has been during the course of the ES project, it will have to be updated as teachers, books, and methods change. But it has served a very valuable function in motivating teachers to become involved and in showing them that their involvement was worthwhile. As one commented:

> The parents of children that we actually had in the program--well, through them we could see that they could see that we really had something. It did something for the morale of the teachers as a whole. (Field Notes, 1975.)

Community members were also dismayed over the students' preparation in the basic skills, particularly in reading. Teachers expended considerable effort in 1972-73 to select the best reading program available at each level, and when the new SRA books and the Craig reading machines arrived, student and teacher morale soared. There was a widespread enthusiasm during 1973-74 for the new additions to the curriculum.

However, by the following year the new curricular items had become old hat. Students and teachers alike were already beginning to get tired of the "new" books. We do not suggest that new books are not valuable (even essential), but rather that new books are a temporary boost instead of a fundamental change in the system. It may be argued that with knowledge growing at its present rate, new books must be obtained fairly frequently. But perhaps some of the advantages of getting new books could be replicated merely by changing books with a nearby school system. We suspect that, besides the updated or improved information in new books and perhaps the improved presentation of materials, teachers like new books because they (more than the students) are bored by repeating the old books. Unfamiliar materials inspire teachers to try new methods, to discuss new examples, and generally liven up the classroom for everyone.

Teacher training was another important element in the ES project. Throughout the course of the project a variety of mechanisms were used to improve teachers' preparation. In the original letter of interest to ES/Washington, Dr. Binkley, the superintendent, had said that teachers were stagnating in Quilcene, and many activities were planned to counteract this. Teachers went on numerous visitations to other schools with innovative programs; they attended workshops on career education, basic skills, and environmental education; they went to summer school; they took short courses on special subjects like mountain climbing, career education, or self-awareness. And during the project, monthly in-services were held. During in-services, students were dismissed for the afternoon. Teachers shared their new knowledge with their colleagues, or outside speakers were invited in.

Teacher training, like the provision of a curriculum guide, has long-lasting effects only if it can be continued. And the financial problems of school districts in Washington suggest that continued in-service training is unlikely. Certainly the impact of teacher training during the course of the ES project was monumental. Teachers were inspired, enthusiastic, full of new ideas and information; but such enthusiasm and interest require periodic boosters, and we doubt that Quilcene's school can provide the funding. The long-range local usefulness of teacher training also depends on teachers remaining at the school. That too is problematic.

Lastly, the appearance of and the equipment in Quilcene School are vastly improved. Since the beginning of the ES project, the buildings have been painted, the plumbing has been fixed, the roof no longer leaks, and a number of other repairs have been made. The school, situated right in the middle of town, is now aesthetically pleasing to most inhabitants and visitors. Many of the rooms have been renovated to accommodate the new kinds of classes like Ranger Industries, arts and crafts, mechanics, wood shop, and the model office. The library has been carpeted. A "resident artist" made dramatic improvements in the looks of the entrance to the gym, the boys' bathroom, and the stairwell to the arts and crafts room by painting the bricks in attractive patterns.

Many new kinds of equipment have been purchased with ES funds in the process of outfitting the arts and crafts room, the wood shop, and the machine shop. Additional auto mechanics equipment was out-and-out hustled by one of Quilcene's most dynamic men (the vocationally certified proprietor of the Texaco station). He used his business contacts and his considerable influence in Lions International, in which he is an imporant figure.

The new equipment and repairs were visible and valued improvements that occurred during the course of the ES project. Evidence of these expenditures may linger longer than the amorphous (though real) improvements in attitude that resulted from curricular improvements and teacher training. This is ironic, given ES/Washington's original positions as stated in the Announcement of the ES competition. A school official put it this way:

> From the beginning we were told that we were not to have any permanent equipment at all, that the money was for planning. But what the school so badly needed was equipment. In order to have program, you've got to have equipment!
>
> Even though [the Project Officer] kept hammering away, saying "no supplies, no equipment," we ended up with equipment. (Field Notes, 1975.)

Such physical improvements, however, do little to alter the behavioral regularities that constitute the fundamental core of schooling. All of these intended results of the project strike us as cosmetic changes that leave the school basically unchanged. There is nothing experimental or unusual about improving curriculum, training teachers, or fixing up buildings and buying new equipment, though all schools desire such improvements.

Potential Changes in the Hidden Curriculum

In terms of the hidden curriculum, the changes were even less impressive, despite early ideas which had such potential. This section provides a discussion of every planned or implemented innovation that had any potential for altering existing behavioral regularities of school life.

Quilcene's ES project, for example, included several components that had potential effects on age grading. The SRA reading program for the elementary students originally permitted students who were advanced or slow in reading to move to a different reading class. In 1973-74, exchanges of students between the fifth and sixth grade classrooms worked relatively well. The two teachers were able to mesh their teaching styles effectively. But in 1974-75, the new fifth grade teacher's style differed radically from the sixth grade teacher's. They were unable to cooperate effectively, so the attempt was abandoned. That same year a kindergartner who was beginning to read was encouraged to go to the first grade during reading period. After one week she decided against it and returned to her kindergarten class for reading.

Teachers and students generally found it easier to trade books* than to trade pupils. Some teachers said that the paperwork and confusion that resulted from such attempts to individualize and move children from room to room were not worth the gains. Others expressed distaste for the loss of the special one teacher-one class relationship that develops in a self-contained classroom setting. Certainly the wholesale trading of pupils would have had important effects on the group cohesion that characterizes elementary classes. We have already suggested some of the potential ramifications of this sense of group cohesion in later grouping behavior (see Chapter 10).

High school-level challenges to age-grading also existed. Students who had difficulty with reading were sent to the library to use the Craig reading machines during their regular English period; to some degree this procedure broke up the lockstep progression through required courses. The ES project's emphasis on basic reading skills also encouraged the maintenance and growth of a "practical English" course. This course was designed for students of all high school grades who had gotten behind somewhere along the way and never quite caught up.** Since basic skills were considered by the school administration (and the community at large) to be particularly important, special efforts were made to schedule this class in such a way that all students who needed it could take it.

In 1974-75, the school initiated the use of correspondence courses in order to broaden its course offerings. The availability of these courses released students from their strictly age-graded classes. In 1974-75, the students taking these independent study courses worked in the library. The following year the ES project paid for a special independent study room under the supervision of a teacher.

---

*The SRA reading program includes a variety of books at graduated levels. In Quilcene, children are grouped within their classes according to their reading levels. So children in both the third and fourth grades, for instance, might be reading from the same book.

**Members of this class were almost all boys. In 1974-75, for instance, there was one girl in a class of ten.

In similar fashion, the larger number of vocational offerings now available provided the students with more options or electives, thus encouraging the mixing of age-grades. None of these new programs included any stated concern about the rigid age-grading of students. People in Quilcene see age-grading as a fundamental and inviolable part of the school system. Open classrooms have been occasionally suggested in Quilcene, but most school personnel and community members express dislike and distrust of the idea. The federally funded programs just mentioned had other goals, like improved reading skills for students or increased opportunity to learn new vocational skills. At any rate, the real impact of these potential threats to age-grading appears to be minimal. By high school, students have long since established patterns of association with their age-mates, and the fact that there are few teachers and electives ensures that most of any student's classses are still with age-mates. Moreover, the community's age-graded patterns form a clear basis for age-grading in the school. The adult models whom adolescents use for their own behavior patterning nearly all make extensive use of the age-grading principle.

Another area where changes are evident involves the relationships between teachers and students. Most school experiences in Quilcene, prior to the ES project, took place in a standard self-contained classroom, with the teacher in control and the students in desks following the instructions of the teacher. But the ES project included a number of elements encouraging the kinds of student-teacher interaction that characterize the journalism class (see Chapter 11), where cooperation between students and teacher is more evident, the teacher issues fewer orders, students can move around more freely, and individual initiative is more welcome. Such alternatives to the traditional classroom which were encouraged or developed within the context of the ES program included Ranger Industries, vocational cooking, field trips, Interim Week, and the use of several environmental sites in science classes. Ranger Industries and vocational cooking had another thing in common with the journalism class: students and teachers were cooperating to create visible products that had consequences in the "real world."

Field trips such as those undertaken during Interim Week had been encouraged and promoted because of Quilcene's isolation from the larger world. Some students had never been to Seattle (37 miles away) when the ES project started. Students knew very little of the variety of occupations from which they could choose, of the advantages or disadvantages of city living, or the kinds of educational and other opportunities available in this country. It was felt that field trips would greatly increase the knowledge and experience students had when they left school.

A number of important differences between field trips and classroom experiences can be cited. Teachers can engage in more relaxed interaction with their students away from the school. For example, there is not the same pressure to maintain order as there is in a classroom. On a school bus, in a factory, or in the Olympic National Forest, the noise of interested students presents fewer problems to a teacher. Even where the students are noisier than the teacher might prefer, the teacher's "superiors" or peers are not there evaluating the teacher's disciplinary capabilities. Away from the traditions and strictness of the school environment, students and teachers can learn to know one another under different circumstances. And to the degree that Ranger Industries, vocational cooking, and outdoor science classes represented departures from the normal classroom situation, they also encouraged relaxed interaction and mutual discovery.

It seems possible that this opportunity for students (particularly Local students) to deal with teachers in a less formal and more egalitarian manner served to weaken the uncomplimentary stereotypes of teachers that Local students held. For instance, the teachers who led the hiking expeditions in the mountains had been specially trained and exhibited skills that students do not typically expect from teachers. Again, the trips to cities (from which many teachers came) allowed the teachers to exhibit such skills as reading street maps, driving on freeways, choosing commodities from wide assortments, and knowing how to get various kinds of information in an urban environment. Rural students, unaccustomed to these skills, were impressed when someone obviously "knew the ropes" of city life.

Conversely, teachers were exposed to the "better side" of those students who were particularly put off by the authoritarian environment of traditional classrooms. Numerous Local high school boys who were sullen or withdrawn in classrooms acted exuberant, intelligent, and curious in other environments (e.g., working in the service station or in private homes) where their concept of their own maleness was not threatened. The relatively egalitarian interaction possible in the new vocational classes, as part of Ranger Industries, or on field trips allowed some boys to develop a real interest in school without violence to their personal value system or their confidence in their masculinity.

A third area in which the ES project had an impact was in school-community relations. Although many aspects of school-community relations were not affected at all, four kinds of events carried some potential for influence: the classes that allowed students to go out in the community, the provision of adult education classes, the hiring of Local aides, and the vocational certification of some Local community members.

In 1972-73, we heard some community members grumbling about a new program (not ES-funded) that allowed students to gain practical job experience during the school day in community businesses. The grumbling centered on the high school students' being in the community and not in school, on their alleged lack of supervision, and on the departure from standard curriculum.

During the course of the ES project, of course, there were a number of school programs that encouraged students to go out in the community. Ranger Industry "personnel" sold stock to community members (and held a stockholders' banquet); they sold their products to community stores for resale and to the Lions Club for prizes. Their products are widely used in the community. Community members have consistently praised the activities of Ranger Industries and its educational value (though some feel the students should share profits individually rather than as a school venture).

Interim Week also got students out in the community. Some of the projects performed by students during Interim Week were widely appreciated (e.g., making and putting up street signs, community mapping for the Volunteer Fire Department, beautifying the school grounds). In addition, community members were enlisted to serve as chaperones and teachers on various trips and projects. These experiences may have increased their understanding of what teachers face every day. People who participated in these activities usually enjoyed themselves and considered the experience to be valuable for the students. Despite survey results which indicated widespread community support for Interim Week, it was discontinued in 1976. Controversy revolved around its cost, its value, and the likelihood of student drinking on overnight excursions.

Another important effect of the ES project on community-school relations derived from the provision of adult education classes at night. Started in 1972-73, the classes drew about 150 adult students that first year. The classes were seen as a very welcome contribution of the school to the community. Although they were not funded by ES, they were written into the Plan as an important part of the project which could easily be continued after the ES project was over. Most of the classes were taught by Quilcene teachers (who received reimbursement for their extra time) and so provided a chance for teachers and community members to get to know each other.

Some teachers quite consciously acknowledged their unwillingness to get involved in community affairs. As one remarked:

> When Dr. Binkley was in Quilcene he was so much in the public eye where he lived, he was so taken advantage of and he overly tried to identify with the people to the point where he turned people off. They didn't respect him. We made a point of doing the opposite and felt we gained more respect in the community by purposefully remaining aloof. (Field Notes, 1975.)

Another teacher was surprised to learn, after being in the community over a year, that Quilcene did not have a mayor and town government. Community members were also reluctant to get involved with teachers, though their reluctance was differently motivated. The result was that teachers only talked with community members at the annual potluck to welcome new teachers and when they were having problems with someone's child. The adult education classes opened up a potential new line of communication.

In 1972-73, the only aides in the school were two certified teachers who had been unable to find jobs and who had not lived in Quilcene before taking the school job. The ES project provided funding for more aides, and beginning in 1973-74, all aides were hired from the community. Nearly all were married to men who worked in the private sector. Although there was no policy to hire Local women, their presence in the school made the school a less alien place for Local students. The Local women also served as a communication link to the community about happenings in the school, about how the school worked, and about the problems of the school. And since jobs in Quilcene are scarce for women, the Local women's typical participation in a wide kin network meant that more people (her relatives) appreciated her chance to work and were somewhat grateful to the school for providing such an opportunity. The presence of Local women working in the school rendered the institution just that much more a part of the community.

A similar phenomenon involved the vocational certification of two Local people. The teachers of vocational cooking and auto mechanics were Locals; their certification was based on their practical experience. They provided notable exceptions to many of the generalizations that Quilcene people were prone to make about teachers, and thereby probably served to widen people's perceptions of what teachers can be and to diminish the validity of the teacher stereotype. They, like the aides, served as an important communication link between the school and the community.

The certification of these Local people has potential ramifications for the notion of certification within the school. The purpose of vocationally certifying these two people was to "make use of local talent," not to have any effect on certification as an aspect of school social structure. Certainly the advancement (from the school perspective) of the head cook and the proprietor of the Texaco station to the status of teacher created a brief uncertainty about relative status. Since there are only two vocationally certified teachers, the effects are not monumental; but the fact that two Local people became teachers without pursuing advanced education or adopting the Public Employee lifestyle is a significant datum. The "realm of the possible" has been widened in Quilcene.

In Sum

In none of these cases have the "changes" been widespread; but in our view, substantive changes in Quilcene's educational system would require the kinds of changes discussed in this section. We see, for example, the poor scholastic performance of Local boys as more indicative of the existence of the kinds of cultural confrontation discussed in this volume (e.g., Local-

Public Employee value conflicts, or varying views of appropriate teenage male behavior, etc.) than of any possible difference in intellectual capacity. We therefore considered this careful presentation of ES-based potential changes worthwhile.

CHAPTER 16: THREE APPROACHES TO CHANGE

> Progress has been made to update our basic program and to develop new program in specific areas. The organization of our program K-12 remains very similar to what it was before the project began. At the elementary level changes are noticeable only when the materials or techniques teachers are using are examined. At the secondary level the Ranger Industries program, the Independent Studies program, the Auto Mechanics and vocational shop programs and the marine science programs are visible. Much building and remodeling has been undertaken to facilitate these courses. (Quilcene Contract Extension Document, Dec. 1975, p. 4).

It is clear that the progress of the Experimental Schools project in Quilcene in 1975 is quite different from that intended by the federal Experimental Schools program in 1972. The reasons for the difference are many, but to explore them we must first come to terms with several very basic questions: what notions of change did each of the parties involved bring to the Quilcene Experimental Schools project? What did each of the parties want out of the Experimental Schools project? After answering such questions we can come to terms with the final question to be dealt with in this chapter, namely, how successful was the Quilcene Experimental Schools project in effecting the desired change?

The Federal Perspective

As noted in Chapter 12, during the course of the ES program, the agendas in Washington, D.C. shifted from a 'no-strings-attached' grant approach to ES funding, to a stringent accountability approach. This shift was due in part to constant changes in personnel in the ES program, each of which brought new personal biases to bear; in part to changes in the funding environment of its parent agency (NIE), which resulted in increased pressure to prove that results would be forthcoming from expenditures. Nevertheless, the original intent of the program was still evident, at least in rhetoric, in 1976, and it is these original goals against which we will try to assess success or failure in Quilcene.

Beginning with the concept that previous piecemeal educational change efforts had not been worth their expenditure, early ES planners decided to try a new kind of approach, based on more holistic concepts. The idea of seeing a system or culture as a whole, perceiving its operation as an integral unit encompassing all aspects of its life, is an old one in anthropology. By the mid-20th century it had made its appearance in governmental bureaucracies, and it was to this concept that the ES planners turned in hopes of finding new answers to old problems. The concept of "comprehensiveness" was seen as the answer to the problem of the failure of piecemeal attempts at change. Rosenblum and Louis (1978: pp. 94ff) list a number of assumptions which they see as underlying the federal program from the very beginning:

> 1. Comprehensive change would have a total effect greater than the sum of its parts.
>
> 2. Comprehensiveness would become defined as the program evolved.
>
> 3. The entire school district was the appropriate unit of change.
>
> 4. The change process is a rational one that can be managed effectively by school district personnel.
>
> 5. External funds (i.e., ES dollars) could be used to develop and implement programs that could continue with regular school district funding.
>
> 6. A federal stimulus was necessary to encourage widespread change at the local district level.

Clearly, a key issue in the entire program was the concept of comprehensiveness in change. To clarify this vague concept, the Experimental Schools federal staff operationalized it in this way. Comprehensive change involves:

- the total curriculum, in the light of locally defined needs;
- retraining and re-organization of staff to meet those needs;
- innovative use of time, space and facilities to meet those needs;

- active community involvement in planning and implementing change; and

- an administrative structure which supports the ES project.

(Experimental Schools, 1972a)

These items, however, were seen as guiding principles rather than defining ones, in the beginning. ES staff hoped for sweeping, revolutionary changes in the participating districts with dramatic results. Since the program's goals included educational research as well as local-level school district change, a particular district's success or failure was not of critical importance. The research effort would (hopefully) make either variety of experience a lesson for other districts of similar size. To insure that districts would not use the money for routine up-grading of a school system, ES/Washington hastened to point out that ES monies could not be used to replace existing curriculum items, purchase equipment, or for building renovations. Further, total ES expenditure for each district was not to exceed 15 percent of the school budget.

As Quilcene's superintendent pointed out in the excerpt from the Contract Extension Document noted above, the changes which occurred there were a long way from the sweeping innovations hoped for by the designers of the ES program. As we have pointed out in Chapter 15, the money went for plant and curriculum up-grading, the replacement of old techniques with new, and a general up-grading of faculty expertise. The ES budget in Quilcene accounted for a 31.9 percent increase in expenditures during the first four years of the project (see Appendix).

With these considerations it seems safe to say that the Quilcene Experimental Schools project was not only a dismal failure, but almost completely contrary to the original expectations of the designers of the federal Experimental Schools program. It is interesting to note, however, that in general ES/Washington was after a locally planned, locally defined program for educational change. This is, in fact, what happened in Quilcene.

The Community Perspective

In order to consider the community perspective on change, we summarize briefly the events leading up to the formation of Quilcene's Five Year Plan. Unfortunately, no notes remain from the August 1972 community meeting called to organize opinion on school direction. Only a bare list of the hopes and desires survives, which we have separated into three topic headings. It is important to remember when reviewing the list that it was never prioritized by the community members. Thus it is simply a basic list of ideas.

Community Ideas on School-Community Improvement

A-School

resident participation in school decisions
improved basics program
student participation in school decisions
vocational education
adult high school completion courses
leisure education
pre-school readiness program
family life education

B-Community

increased physical recreation opportunities
job development
housing improvement
development planning
co-ordination of personal and agency resources

C-School/Community Relations

athletics in school and community
overcome community apathy toward school
community agreement on planning for the project
promote awareness of the school in the community
higher education opportunities for residents
acknowledgment and use of the natural environment at school
community use of school facilities

In October of 1972 the Experimental Schools Steering Committee met for the first time. At this meeting, the thrust of the Quilcene ES project was agreed upon, and was divided into three categories: Vocational Education, Basics, and Environmental Education. By the following summer, this committee had ceased to exist, and with it went any further chance for community participation in the planning and implementation of the Quilcene ES project. Nevertheless, of the 20 items listed by the community residents in August of 1972 as desirable in the ES project noted above, 12 were at least initially addressed. The items listed under "Community" were simply never tried, although they were discussed a few times in Steering Committee meetings. The other element never attempted was "family life education", a euphemism for sex education which was strongly opposed by conservative elements in the community despite the high incidence of teenage pregnancy (see C. Colfer, 1977). By the fall of 1974, however, the only non-academic goal listed by the community which was being addressed was increased school-community communication via the School Newsletter, plus sporadic and sparse use of school plant facilities for community recreation. The Quilcene Plan for Experimental Schools was definitely of school/community origin and thus met ES/Washington's hopes for a locally planned program in light of locally defined needs; but by and large only those community defined elements which fell within the range of traditionally defined teacher expertise were actually incorporated into the project. If a list of assumptions, based on statements, documents and actions, were to be drawn up for Quilcene similar to the list of those of the federal ES program planners, it might look like this:

1. More money equals better education;
2. Federal money equals federal control;
3. Community involvement in school affairs equals trouble;
4. Experts know the answers;
5. Never try an untested educational program; and
6. Learning only occurs in classrooms.

The Quilcene residents and school personnel were never comfortable with the concept of "comprehensiveness." Indeed there is considerable evidence that it was an elusive concept for all concerned.* Because of this elusiveness, whenever "comprehensiveness" was discussed within the Quilcene ES project, it was dealt with entirely within the framework delineated by the *guidelines* provided by ES/Washington in the March 1972 Announcement.

Indeed, it was not only the unsophisticated school districts which had problems dealing with this holistic concept: the external evaluators, Abt Associates Inc., used those same elements as the major basis for part of their evaluation research (see Rosenblum and Louis 1978). Thus for all intents and purposes, these elements became the defining characteristics of the concept of comprehensiveness within the Experimental Schools Program for Small Schools Serving Rural Areas.

In the beginning of the project, the ES/Washington project officers consistently expressed dissatisfaction with Quilcene's plan on the grounds that it was a curriculum up-grading system with no overall comprehensive change attempted. As time went on, however, ES/Washington (likewise unable to deal with the concept) became more and more satisfied with the use of the original "guidelines" as *definitions*. Abt Associates' use of the guidelines as criteria for measuring successful change (inadvertently) reinforced local and ES/Washington reliance upon these criteria of comprehensiveness, by bringing the prestige of "science" and "experts"** to that definition of "comprehensiveness." Gradually ES/Washington suggestions and inferences that the project should be "more comprehensive" subsided, and Quilcene personnel became satisfied that they had met the federal criteria for comprehensive change.

It is important to remember that most changes in the Quilcene schools occurred in the areas of curriculum upgrading, teacher training, and equipment/building renovations. The only structural innovation

---

*Herriott and Gross' (1979) book of readings, *The Dynamics of Planned Educational Change*, provides case studies of five other rural ES projects. See especially Wacaster (pp. 112-149), Firestone (150-184) and Gross and Herriott (353-379) for discussion of problems with the comprehensiveness concept.

**The local ideas about "experts" are discussed in Chapter 17.

attempted by the Quilcene project personnel was the grafted-on position of Project Director; and ES/Washington's decision in the spring of 1973 to remove his authority not only removed any need to attempt administrative renovation in the district, but it also removed the last chance for the ES Steering Committee to have input into the operation of the ES project. Prior to the demotion of the Project Director to Co-ordinator, the Steering Committee had had the authority, through the Director, to make binding decisions which would affect the school's future. After this ES/Washington-induced demotion the committee, stripped of its decision-making powers, met very few times. "Community involvement" slowly shifted from the Steering Committee input to the use of two community members as teachers (in food science and auto mechanics) and a few more as aides. However, the auto mechanics teacher was only part time, as were the aides; and by the end of the project, the aides were being phased out.

Thus, considering the ES program's elements of comprehensiveness independently, the Quilcene School District:

- changed part of the curriculum in response to locally defined needs;
- did, in fact, re-train the staff to meet those needs, though re-organization was never dealt with;
- rebuilt space and facilities to meet those needs and increased slightly community use of the plant, though time use was never dealt with;
- utilized community involvement for only the first year of the project; and
- remained completely traditional in administrative structure.

Nevertheless, from Quilcene's perspective, its Experimental Schools project was a smashing success. All of the academic goals drawn up by the community/school meeting in 1972 were met, and the planning and implementation of the ES project were essentially local in nature.

Although Quilcene's citizens and school personnel on the one hand, and ES/Washington personnel on the other, could probably agree on specific changes that occurred in the school, judgments about the value of such changes would differ markedly. The assumptions, expectations, and goals of the two sets of actors are not congruent. Neither are these two sets of contradictory assumptions, expectations, and goals congruent with our own ideas about what could and/or should have happened in a "comprehensive, locally initiated, planned change effort." Although our role was defined as one of comparatively passive observation, we are aware that our presence was from time to time obtrusive in the community and the school. Additionally, our familiarity with school and community belief systems and behavior patterns may shed light on the areas in which comprehensive change could have occurred. In the section which follows we present our own perspective.

The Anthropological Perspective

Throughout this volume we have presented a picture of the school in its cultural context, stressing its broad participation in the enculturative processes of American children. We have pointed out its hidden as well as formal curricula, and identified the points of articulation between school and community. As a cultural institution, the school replicates in microcosm the larger patterns to be found in the sociocultural system. It does have its own internal social organization as well as some statuses and roles peculiar to itself. It does not, however, have its own culture separate from the larger culture of which it is a part. A culture is the system of meanings held in common by a total population, all participants in the gene pool of a society. The "culture" to be found in a school is no more nor less than a microcosm of the larger system. It exemplifies many of the values and symbols found in more dispersed form in the larger cultural milieu. Unfortunately, it is this cultural aspect of schools which has led many researchers to mistakenly conceptualize schools as having separate "cultures" of their own (e.g., Khleif 1971; Henry 1971). And in turn, this conceptualization leads them away from seeing school behavior as part of the enculturation process in its larger system. Such a "mind set" is fertile ground for the belief that "culture change" can take place within a school in the absence of change in the larger cultural system. Early federal perceptions and beliefs regarding the ES program included the concept that planned change attempts in schools had failed because they were piecemeal. We suggest, on the other hand, that changes can occur within a school system only when they are compatible with cultural principles in a larger system. Changes which propose altering the basic lessons of the hidden curricula, or the nature of communication networks deriving from wider cultural patterns, simply cannot occur in isolation.

In stable, homogeneous and traditional societies, most people tend to use cultural symbols in a continuous, similar manner. They share many of the symbols which comprise the range of meanings extant in their culture at that time. Any given person, at any point in time, "knows" the "true" meaning of the current cultural symbols. These meanings are used daily in verbal and kinesic expression. They are perceived as immutable. But in complex, or pluralistic cultures, these meanings are not so precisely shared. Because there is variation in the meaning attributed to any given symbol, the meanings are in a constant state of re-negotiation. To have one's meanings in constant re-negotiation is an uncomfortable position, and development and anthropological literature is rife with examples of people 'caught between' two cultures--two sets of meaning.* Social boundaries--ethnic, religious, or in Quilcene, occupational--exist because it is easier and more comfortable to interact with those who share one's sets of symbolic meanings than with those who do not. Yet it is in those very cross-boundary interactions that the process of culture change can most easily be seen, as the meanings of symbols are re-negotiated day after day.

In school, teachers--members of the Public Employee category, subscribers to the symbols and values of the "American Middle Class"--are transmitting those Public Employee, Middle Class values to pupils who are being raised largely outside the institution for formal education and with different symbolic sets. For such pupils, the subsequent dissonance is severe, particularly during the teenage years when identity is being so painfully thrashed out. Most students opt with gross exaggeration for one or the other set of meanings and values--either Public Employee or Local. They then wear their identity (though it may well not be permanent, as is true of adolescents everywhere) as obtrusively as possible, and this particularly includes reactions to and participation in (or non-participation in) academic matters. In the sphere of hidden curriculum, however, all students (as well as all adults, certified and non certified) participate.

---

*See for example, the readings on "Nations and Enclaves" in Wax, Gearing and Diamonds (1971:208-292).

We have pointed out that the hidden curriculum teaches and reinforces the expectation that:

- elders have power over the young;
- men have power over women;
- time needs to be controlled;
- equity is to be valued;
- competition is for equals;
- individuals cooperate within groups; and
- relationships are either cooperative or competitive, and egalitarian or authoritarian.

Inherent in the hidden curriculum is the constant instruction of proper spheres for these two major American "oppositions" involving relationships. Is situation X one which calls for egalitarian or authoritarian behavior? Does it call for cooperation or competition?

We have given examples of classroom situations in Chapter 10 which indicate the pervasive nature of such lessons. The school, as a microcosm of the larger cultural system, provides ample evidence of the personal constructs (a la Kelly, 1963) which can order adult life. Adults control the schools. Certified adults control the school. Male certified adults also control female certified adults. Adults control children. Adults foster equity in children by grouping them according to some principle which makes those children appear equal. Equity is essential in classroom and sportsfield for "good" competition. Children are taught to cooperate within the equity group to achieve a better basis for competition with other, similar equity groupings. Children are taught the use of time in Public Employee terms. Time becomes a critical ingredient in competition, which is then equated with achievement (sports events are timed, exams are timed, achievement tests are timed). Individuality is not rewarded, but cooperation for group competition is. Even the authoritarian relationships of the school's social structure are tempered with egalitarianism as children learn that their group cooperation can also bring, or insure, equity rulings from the authoritarian teacher.

This is the core of the hidden curriculum which prepares children for adult living. It is fostered within the school as within the home. Without these basic principles of American values and oppositions, no person is properly equipped to deal with the complexities of American life in the 20th Century. Thus the school replicates in miniature the system within which it operates, and we suspect that, given the widespread acceptance of these values in Quilcene (as well as elsewhere in America) few parents would want these principles changed. Thus the hidden curriculum is, of course, conservative, as it must be in its institutional setting. Changes in the hidden curriculum are, and must result from, changes in the wider cultural meanings they exemplify. In Quilcene we saw no enduring changes occurring in these hidden curriculum principles, either in the school in particular or in the community at large.

Changes in these principles were clearly not intended, either by Quilcene or federal planners, except for early insistence on sexual equity in the planning. Yet the concept of comprehensiveness, if implemented fully, does in fact threaten some of those basic tenets of American teaching (setting aside any judgments about these tenets' desirability on any absolute scale).

Interaction of Perspectives

Quilcene administrators responded to receiving the ES grant with definite ambivalence. If there was a chance to do what the ES/Washington Announcement suggested, it seemed a timely device to better, and perhaps save, their school. Yet of all the parties involved in the ES program the school administrators seem to have been the least naive. While federal Experimental Schools staff and Abt Associates staff entered the project enthusiastically with rather unreasonable hopes, Quilcene's school district entered with the clear awareness that the project could well threaten the schools' conventional funding sources. The rules and regulations under which small districts operate in the State of Washington prohibit, or at least markedly discourage, departures from the expected school routines.* Schools must demonstrate that they have X number of pupils in school for X number of days per year in order to receive their allotted basic funds from the State. Schools must demonstrate that all advantages are equally available to all students. Schools must demonstrate that all specified curricular items are being covered. And so it goes down an apparently endless list designed to insure an equal education for all children. Thus school administrators must watch carefully that their paper figures are in line with local, state, and federal guidelines. Any change in curriculum, staffing, building or time use is suspect, and genuine comprehensive change could easily endanger basic funds.

Although from the beginning, ES/Washington and Abt Associates were prepared to accept the "failure" of any given ES project, since the research outcomes could be valuable nonetheless, administrators, citizens, and school board members in Quilcene held a less sanguine attitude about such an eventuality. Genuine experimentation is risky; and the people of Quilcene were aware of this fact. Comments like the following were commonplace during the planning phase of their ES project:

> "Look man, it's fine for you to do experiments and all that, but I've got a kid in that school system, and if you mess it up she might not learn how to read."
>
> "We can't get too far out with this project. This is a conservative community; and I've got a family to support. If this project bombs, I could be out on my ear."
>
> "Look, the community would never accept the open classroom concept; and anyway, I was elected to represent their interests, regardless of my own preferences. Believe me there'll be trouble if you try to get too fancy with this federal project."
>
> "You know, it's not so easy to change things in the school. We've got to comply with a lot of regulations--from the Feds, the State, even the ISD [Intermediate School District]. There are a lot of things we have no control over. Take time use, for instance. The

---

*The following generalizations come from expressed concerns of school board members and administrators, as well as from such documents as the Citizens' Handbook for Washington State School Finance (1970).

> regulations are very specific about how many hours, how many days a year, students are to be in school. If we go messing around with things like that we could endanger our funds. We could lose our school, you know, if we're not careful."

These were the kinds of concerns expressed in the community and in the school; and they are legitimate, human concerns. They also produce a conservative approach to planned change.

As ES/Washington came under fire within NIE (its parent agency) and opted for specific contracts rather than grants, the federal need for school district successes and monetary accountability went hand in hand with school district conservatism, to produce washed out, diluted plans for partial change. Thus the cultural processes and rules at work in both American villages and in the national capitol are parts of overall patterns which go toward the shaping of collective American behavior. The conservatism in the school district is the result of its culturally microcosmic nature, its financial reliance on bureaucratic regulations, and the conservative nature of the selection process which produces its personnel. Any departures from culturally conservative norms were squelched at the local level in the same way they were squelched within the federal bureaucracy when NIE, in response to Congressional budget cuts, began a systematic re-appraisal of the Experimental Schools program at large.

Parts of the basic thrust of the ES program on the federal level contrasted markedly with apparent assumptions about the nature of the world in Quilcene. Both parties seem to operate within the assumption that education improves as more money is spent on it. Such an assumption seems to be refuted by Abt Associates' Pupil Change Study which shows that, compared to similar districts pupils in the ES districts did not do as well (Abt et al., 1978). Moreover, as a group, comparison districts with very little federal money more improvement in pupil performance than ES districts with huge sums of federal aid (Ibid:20-23). Nevertheless, we suspect that both the federal government and the local districts will continue to believe in the assumption that more money means positive change in pupils. Certainly the school district fears that federal money means federal control were exacerbated by the increase in specificity of federal requirements for monetary expenditures during the life of the Experimental Schools project in Quilcene.

All of these factors worked together to move the Quilcene Experimental Schools project away from the original ES hopes for comprehensive change toward the more limited and visionless project which evolved. The writings of Messerschmidt (1979), Wacaster (1979), Firestone (1979), Donnelly (1979), Clinton (1979), and Gross and Herriott (1979) on ES/Washington's projects in other rural areas, show that many of these conservative factors were operative in other ES projects and led them to basically the same type of limited results.

CHAPTER 17: ON MODELS AND MUDDLES AND SYMBOLS THAT FLY

Cultural systems and explanations, like symbols and their meanings, can be seen as analagous to Ezekiel's description of the strange visitors he encountered in the desert, i.e., as wheels within wheels. In such a situation, where systems are composed of systems and are themselves part of other systems, single causal explanations, or even unidirectional ones, are difficult, if not impossible, to support. We are, at best, suspicious of such explanations.

In the previous chapter we discussed three approaches to change, and ventured the conclusion that Experimental Schools was a success from Quilcene's perspective while a failure from that of the designers of the ES program. But in fact there are levels within Quilcene as well. In this section we discuss the fact as well as the mechanisms for diffusing external change efforts which exist in Quilcene. To do this we must elaborate certain attitudes and values and symbols alluded to earlier in this volume.

Models of Social Organization in Quilcene

The first model which occurred to us as we began to see the dichotomous nature of Quilcene social life was Robert Redfield's (1956) distinction between "Great Tradition" and "Little Tradition." This model of culture change grew out of Redfield's work in Mexico, where he saw small communities as bastions of localized cultural traditions, into which flowed new ideas and traditions from a greater, national culture pattern. The channels for this flow were those residents who were either originally from some urban, Great Tradition, environment, or who had had sufficient contact with that Great Tradition to effectively transmit it. We initially saw the public school in Quilcene as a transmitter of the broader American (Great Tradition) to the Local (Little Tradition). But this model ultimately seemed inappropriate for several reasons. One is that in Quilcene Locals have access to larger American life-style information through the same channels that Public Employees have. The second is that the tradition to which Locals look for their cultural model is as endemic in America as is the middle class, Puritan-like ethic of the Public Employee Great Tradition.

Locals participate in and identify with the Western Frontier cultural model. Thus, while Redfieldian models were not totally appropriate, they did, nonetheless, highlight certain aspects of life in Quilcene.

The second model we turned to was elaborated by Selvadurai (private communication 1974). He suggested that perhaps a more meaningful analogy might be taken from the colonialist literature, with the Public Employee overlay on the village as equivalent to a colony of colonialists, while the Local population equated to the "natives." This, too, had certain attractive features, as it highlighted the Public Employee control of resources (including children). Moreover, it was not dissimilar in direction from a model suggested by Cohen (1971:40) in which he identifies an evolutionary trend for nation-states (e.g., the United States) to infiltrate isolated areas where particularism is the dominant mode (e.g., Quilcene's Local life-ways) and to impose universalism. He maintains that a state political organization must (1) "subvert local--especially kin --sources of solidarity, loyalty, and authority" and (2) "establish an ideology--if not a reality--of uniformity among the polity." Certainly the Public Employee methods of resource control, and the teachings of the public school in Quilcene are impressive insertions of universalism into a particularistic life-way.

We do not have sufficient socio-cultural data from 50 years ago to make any meaningful statement about the nature of change in particularism in Quilcene over the last half century. It may well be that the Local life-ways of a life-time ago were more particularistic than they are now. But it is certainly true that, despite the barrage of universalism directed at the Local population (and, we assume, other similar village groupings around the nation), particularism still reigns in Quilcene. We have also considered a Marxist approach for dealing with the conflict situation in Quilcene. Certainly it can also be seen in that light, but requires an adherence to class oppositions and definitions that do not fit our data.

We should stress at this point that daily life in Quilcene is not conflict ridden. For the most part, both Locals and Public Employees go about their rounds with little or no open conflict. This is largely because there is likewise little or no contact with members of the opposite category. For the youth, however, interaction (and conflict) are constant. The

The particularism of Local children is constantly challenged by the universalism of the school. So it takes very little to plunge the community into open conflict. Subdued, implicit daily tension, in which Local breadwinners try to either gain control of the resources which they exploit to survive or at least to operate within the rules made by Public Employees, is, however, constant. While conflict is not very common, tension is. The introduction of new resources opens the community instantly to open conflict as the appropriate use for that resource is decided.

> Man, you should have been at that community meeting in August of '72. When we announced the size of the grant there was this period of silence. Then Mrs. [Fisher] raised her hand and she wanted to know who was going to get to cut up the pie. "Who's gonna get that money?" she asked. (Field Notes, 1973).

All of the models we considered for the understanding of the events in Quilcene are composed of a "vertical" component and a "horizontal" component. The vertical component is the information and power flow from a larger, or at least more powerful, centralized body in the political world. The horizontal component is the localized cultural tradition. Universalism and particularism can also be seen in this light, as aspects of an ideology of vertical or horizontal structures. This is also part of the endemic opposition of authoritarian versus egalitarian relationships, in that authoritarian is vertical and egalitarian is horizontal. It goes without saying, of course, that no act or relationship or pattern can be located totally on one or the other of these axes, but is somewhere on a continuum between them. Yet this set of oppositions is a constant on which many aspects of interaction in Quilcene can be plotted (See Figure 11). It is a meta-pattern for a wide range of symbolic meaning and specific action.

This opposition is exacerbated, as we have pointed out in Chapter 4, by alternate definitions of major cultural symbols and symbolic systems (metaphors). Public Employees and Locals tend to use slightly variant meanings for symbols such as Education and Schooling, and this puts still further barriers to inter-group communication. Thus, it has been instructive to consider the Experimental Schools project in Quilcene from a communication system point of view (See Colfer with Colfer 1979). Clearly, if people do not have much contact across the major social boundary in Quilcene, there is

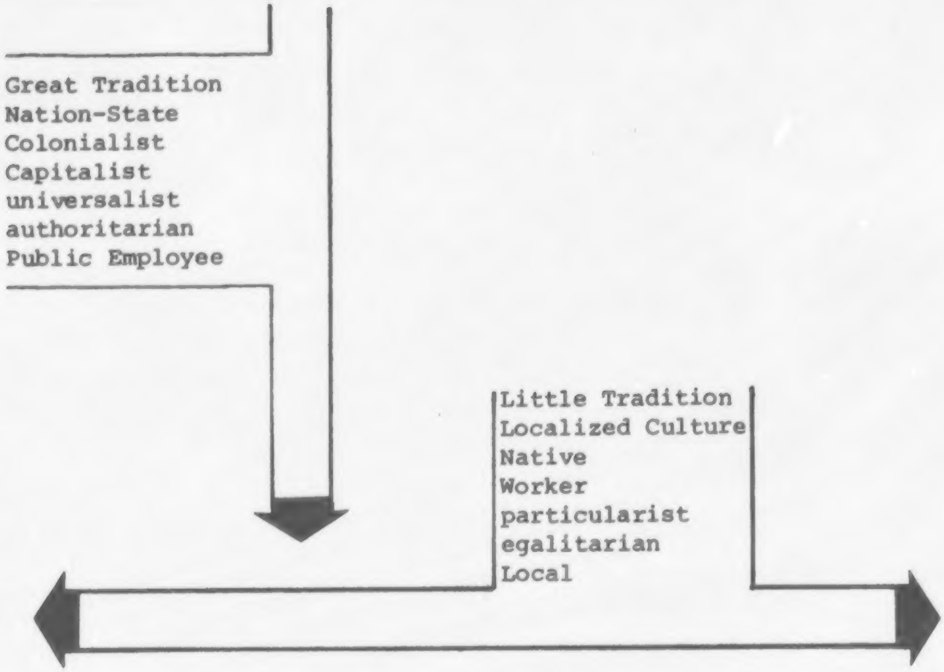

Great Tradition
Nation-State
Colonialist
Capitalist
universalist
authoritarian
Public Employee
Little Tradition
Localized Culture
Native
Worker
particularist
egalitarian
Local

Figure 11. Meta-Model, inclusive of other partially applicable models, graphically representing the vertical/horizontal opposition endemic in Quilcene interaction patterns.

not much communication across it. Aspects of the Experimental Schools project which required the most change in existing communication patterns across the boundary were the ones to fail first. Thus, the intended use of community members as part of the school team swiftly dropped to a minimum. Those classroom structures which encouraged alternate and new modes of cross-boundary communication (particularly Interim Week) were the subject of dissonance and were dropped. Probably the most lasting and significant contribution the Experimental Schools project made on school-community communication was the establishment of a weekly newsletter to the community.

In 1972, down the communication line from Washington, D.C., came a new and sizable resource. The intent in the national capitol was to return control of some of the school destiny to local districts. In Quilcene, an interesting thing occurred. The Experimental Schools funds themselves were on the order of three times the size of the annual levies. While these funds were not to be used for "normal school operation", they, of course, were. (Indeed, if the ES project was to be comprehensive, how could it be otherwise?) Moreover, during the first two years, these funds were simply inserted into the school budget administered at the county level, and no reasonable way of breaking out federal monies from district monies existed except on Quilcene's own books. The handling of this money was entirely in the hands of the Public Employees in the Quilcene School District (and to a lesser extent those in the county seat). Thus these funds, intended to increase local control of the districts, actually decreased the impact of Local pressures on school district administration as the levies became (over the five years) increasingly smaller than the alternate funds inserted into the school district budget, through its participation in the Experimental Schools program.

The Experimental Schools funds were one more bit of "booty" in a long battle between Locals and Public Employees over the nature and operation of the schools in Quilcene. If it was a defeat in terms of resource control at the budgetary level, it was even more of a defeat concerning Local children themselves. The school was a far nicer place to be at the end of its ES project. It was more colorful, cleaner, had newer equipment and a far higher morale than at the beginning. If, in fact, this has had the impact of making the school a better place for children, it has insidiously undermined the Local particularism in a quite unexpected way. Naturally, if the students like the school better they are far more likely to be open to and receptive of the teachings of universalism in the school. It is, in a very real sense, a sugar coated pill. In the end, we suspect that such vulnerability will simply increase the dissonance of young adults as they move into a world where neither cultural stage (Local or Public Employee) is receptive to them.

Mechanisms of Cultural Incorporation

That change efforts are frequently sabotaged, rendered impotent, or simply fizzle out is well know. (See, for example, Paul [1955], or more recently Lance and McKenna [1975].) In Quilcene, both sets of opposition (see Chapter 4) created an atmosphere of alternate priorities to finally divert and inhibit the thrust of change from the federal level. That is not to say that there were deliberate, planned efforts on the part of Quilcene personnel to undermine federal goals for the Experimental Schools program. We have no evidence to indicate that this occurred. Yet, like many change efforts, things went awry. Just as the two axes of the meta-pattern opposition discussed above are mutually exclusive (see Figure 11), so were many of the goals and agendas of the two major parties to the change effort.

We have pointed out some of those mutually exclusive goals, but perhaps the most pervasive was the opposing set of definitions of change. Federal program people were interested in seeing sweeping, inclusive change that would revolutionize the district. Yet they were either unwilling or unable to enunciate precisely what this meant. Their vacillation on the issue can most clearly be seen in their encouragement of "comprehensive" school district change on the one hand, and their encouragement of traditional administrative structures on the other. The vacillation at the Quilcene level was neither so pervasive nor so severe. Both community residents (Public Employee and Local alike) and school personnel were interested primarily in system up-grading, including (perhaps with a high priority) building renovation.

These alternate agendas, together with specific attitudes and situations to be discussed below, led to very different perceptions of what could and should be done. But perhaps the most interesting aspect of the

284

operation of the project in Quilcene is to be found not in the expressed goals and changes presented in its ES project's Five Year Plan, but in the mechanisms which shifted or inhibited those goals and changes.

The Rural Problem. We pointed out in Chapter 1 that enormous sums of money were being spent on schools in America. At the same time, schools and teachers have been under severe attack throughout the nation. Newspapers, popular magazines and educators assert that schools are failing, teachers have minimal ability, new concepts in education are poorly thought out, and traditional concepts are outmoded and meaningless in today's world. In short, school people are "under the gun." It is not surprising, then, that there is a generalized feeling of defensiveness in America's schools. Quilcene's school is no different, in that respect. However, there are further reasons for the defensiveness in Quilcene (as well as in other rural schools, we suspect). The school, as we have pointed out earlier, is a football in the game of Local/Public Employee dominance in Quilcene. Periodic attacks on school personnel, periodic expulsions and warnings have been a tradition in Quilcene since the turn of the century. The cauldron of tension between Locals and Public Employees periodically boils over, and it is the school that gets scalded. Further, in the years before the advent of its Experimental Schools project, the Quilcene faculty had very little to say in the running of the school. The school itself was an unkempt run-down set of buildings, a virtual eye-sore in the center of the village. The Quilcene faculty, with no say in school operation, and very little support in the face of community attacks, beleaguered from both vertical and horizontal sources of criticism, felt more than a little defensive. Beyond their defensiveness as educators, however, was another layer of similar attitudes--the national sense of rural inferiority.

The concept of rural inferiority is endemic in the American media (and other national media as well). Despite the growing reverse migration from urban centers to rural roots, (Beale, 1975; Morrison and Wheeler, 1976) and despite the wide-spread availability of television soap operas eulogizing the traditional purity of rural living, there is a constant barrage of derogatory data expressed in these media. Factual magazines, newspapers and television documentaries harp on the drawbacks to rural living: rural housing is the worst in the nation; rural health care is almost non-existent; water supplies are bad; jobs are scarce and salaries are low; and the lack of shopping centers, central heating and child care facilities are (if one believes the media) almost unbearable.* Seldom do the media list the most pressing problems for rural America: that economic and political power is centralized in the urban areas. Seldom is the tax structure and its distribution system properly linked to the "Rural Problem." The taxes which are gathered in the Quilcene school district are "given" to the district by the State and Federal governments, and are administered by county officials in Port Townsend. Even the Experimental Schools funds themselves came from unknown benefactors in the national capitol, dispersed by an apparent whim. It is undeniably true that much of the leisure time in America (rural or urban) is spent watching television, and that the vast majority of information possessed about the state of the nation comes from television and other nationally based, urban operated, news media. It is also undeniably true that the cost of living in some rural areas, particularly Quilcene, is potentially significantly lower than it is in many urban areas. The majority of a family's food can be caught, shot or grown, and a significant percentage of household heating fuel can be cut in the forests. The half hour drive to Port Townsend to shop is probably no further in time (though it is in miles) than many Seattle families drive to shop, and the same is true of access to other facilities. Technical tasks which in Seattle require a contractor or specialist are frequently done in Quilcene by neighbors either without charge or for traded labor. And the lovely environment, admired by the urban public on television for most of the year or through the picture window of a motor home on vacation, is directly at hand. Yet the awesome power of the national media, and the hold of the symbols generated and fostered by it, are almost impossible to resist. In 1972 at the community meetings to elicit goals and needs for the Experimental Schools project, one of the prime considerations listed was the establishment of recreational facilities! Living on the shores of one of the nation's great inland water systems, and beneath one of the nation's most prized semi-wilderness areas (both within walking distance), Quilcene residents felt it was essential to establish recreational facilities. Before the storm of data belittling the rural life pattern, justified pride in a beautiful rural environment is not sufficient shelter and Quilcene is no exception to this pattern.

---

*See the "Overall Economic Development Plan for Jefferson County" (1971) for a local view of these problems. On a broader scale, see the President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty (1967), or Chadwick and Bahr (1978), for representative government/academic views on rural life.

> I find it hard to understand why the federal government would give Quilcene Schools a half a million dollars when what they should do is to close that dump down. (Field Notes 1973)
>
> If he [a teacher] were any good, he'd be at a big city school, where they really give out good education. (Field Notes 1973)
>
> None of those people [high level Public Employees] want to be here. They're just waiting for a promotion to Olympia or Portland. (Field Notes 1973)
>
> I watched you drive by the other day, and I really felt sorry for you. There you are, a young man with a PhD, driving the streets of Quilcene! (Field Notes, 1975)
>
> You want to know why we go through so many superintendents? Hell, I'll tell you. It's simple. Ain't none of 'em worth a shit. The good ones all go to the good districts. Who in hell in his right mind would come to a place like this to work for peanuts. (Field Notes 1974)

The sense of living in inferior conditions is endemic in Quilcene. Home, village, and school are all seen as less than could be expected if one lived in an urban environment. It is true that jobs are scarce, and over 50 percent of Quilcene's graduating seniors have left the community over the ten years prior to 1972. Moreover, within the community itself the juxtaposition of the two dominant life ways increases the feeling of defensiveness for Locals. Public Employees have secure, regular salaries with fringe benefits and retirement schemes. They also control the resources. This sense of rural inferiority, then, is endemic in Quilcene in general, worst for Locals and, (combined with the nation-wide academic attack), for schoolpeople.

Get Yourself an Expert. It is thus understandable that Quilcene school personnel were reluctant to try out ideas they had themselves generated. In the first place, departures from expected school behavior had in the past generated a storm of community protest. In the second place, school personnel felt that they, themselves, were not "good enough" to generate their own programs. We have listed in Chapter 16 some of the assumptions with which Quilcene school personnel worked. The "experts" from Washington, D.C. (or Tacoma) were deemed knowledgeable far beyond the facts. Their opinions were actively sought and deferred to. We consistently heard references to the expertise of one or another individual within the federal Experimental Schools office. These statements about individual expertise were common despite the generalized contempt of non-school people for "government people." The status of evaluation in Quilcene was consistently underlined by comments that the Feds wanted some particular actions taken in evaluation, but would not tell the Quilcene staff what those actions were. "They want us to figure it out, but we haven't had the training and they have!" The same statement was heard in reference to many other parts of the ES project, particularly during the planning year. When federal Experimental Schools personnel sent Quilcene staffers to Franklin-Pierce School District in Tacoma for a visitation to an operating urban Experimental Schools project, the resident evaluation expert there (Dr. Stakan) became Quilcene's "guru" for the remainder of the project.

The same phenomenon is observable in the reluctance to attempt any new programs. Controversial issues like ungraded classes and the "open school" concept were discussed in only marginal ways, despite the stated desire in the original superintendent's Letter of Interest to try them in Quilcene. In fact, the visitations during the planning year became nothing more than shopping tours during which Quilcene faculty searched for packaged programs or ideas which could be imported directly into their classrooms.

Thus Quilcene's Experimental Schools project became simply an amalgam of already tried and well used programs, imported to shore up the existing curriculum. The sense of inferiority, the sense of being beleaguered by both community and nation, conspired to produce a total lack of "vision" or innovative behavior.

Yet beyond these overt innovation inhibitors, the position of the school as an enculturation institution set within the larger American cultural system automatically operated to curb changes which might alter aspects of its hidden curriculum. Within that institution people operate in ways which tend to support the larger sociocultural system, because they were taught the expected behavior patterns which have evolved over time. These are the traditions of a people. Public Employees live a particular way because they deem it to be correct; just as do Locals. But responses to situations depend not only on what is logically deemed correct, but also on the emotional impact of the situation. The endemic feelings of rural inferiority and their encompassing aura of satellite attitudes lend a particularly defensive aspect to Local/Public Employee interactions and to Community/School interactions, the most defensive pose being within Local/School interactions.

Given these sets of attitudes and beliefs that, acting together, inhibit innovation and creativity, we can now examine the most obvious and recurrent mechanism by which change is avoided and/or blocked. The tradition of crisis committee formation serves to make administrators and school board members wary of innovation; and it reminds decision-makers very forcefully when they step over the acceptable bounds.* In the next section, we discuss in some detail committees of crisis as they operated during the course of the Quilcene ES project, for they constituted a significant conservative force.

Committees of Crisis

As pointed out in Chapters 4 and 12, the spring of 1973 was a time of great tension in Quilcene School District. The school was moving into a period of anticipated change, and community members were beginning to express extreme dissatisfaction with the administration of the school. Although the capabilities of school board members were questioned, most of the venom was directed at the only person who could be easily removed by the community at large--the superintendent. The mechanism for his removal was the annual levy; a group of citizens made it clear that its passage was dependent upon the superintendent's resignation.

---

*It is also worth remembering that, besides having a conservative influence in this particular sphere, the pattern of forming groups in this manner is a valued element of the "democratic process" in America, and is generally considered a legitimate means for citizens to influence decision-makers.

Passing the special levy is a major factor to be considered in the administration of the Quilcene school. It has a long history, too. The first reference in print to community dissent over a special levy is a letter in the Port Townsend Leader expressing distaste for spending monies on steeples and patent writing desks--this was in 1887. By the mid-1970s, the levy passage had come to be the mechanism via which community wishes could ultimately be forced on the school. And "forced" is the descriptive term to be used; that is how the community members saw it in 1973.

We have pointed out the nature of the ideological conflict between Public Employees and Locals. Public Employees, by virtue of their position in state and federal bureaucracies are the local arm of powerful organizations. Locals can do little in response to actions taken by state and federal bureaucracies once the decisions have been handed down. For example, the 1975 decisions by the U.S. Forest Service to log a stretch of the Quilcene National Forest by helicopter was seen by Locals as the Ranger's attempt to enhance his own position in the bureaucracy and get a promotion. (This belief was strengthened by the Ranger's almost immediate promotion.) Loggers felt they had no appeal to his decision, one which they felt was unnecessary.* They said the area could be logged in an ecologically sound manner. The incident caused much frustration and anger.

The anger at such decisions by large bureaucracies carries over to Local dealings with all other bureaucracies, including the school. Yet here, at least, the body making some decisions is ready at hand and composed of neighbors. Moreover, the continuance of the very school itself is now dependent on that special levy. Many community members are quick to point out that the students could go to school in the nearby communities of Chimacum and Port Townsend without too much additional cost. While school supporters point out that school closure would be "cutting off their nose to spite their face," the threat is effective in influencing the actions of school administrators and the school board. Moreover, years of periodic hostility from the community have combined with the general feeling of rural inferiority to foster a distinct pose of defensiveness within the school. The "window on 101" has frequently been the target of brickbats. Wishing to keep the school open and unwilling to be held responsible by their neighbors for unpopular decisions, school administrators and board members respond quickly when community members make demands.

---

*Helicopter loggers are outsiders and bring in their own crews. This contract deprived local loggers of a lot of work in a year when jobs were scarce.

In a community where residents have less and less control over the resources on which their livelihood depends, where input into the bureaucratic process which controls those resources is very limited, where even one's children are in the hands of Public Employees during a critical part of their enculturation, and where a sense of inferiority (perhaps suppression might better describe it) suffuses the community, the only legitimate recourse seems to be the formation of ad hoc groups or committees to present requests or demands to controlling bodies when those bodies are in the process of making decisions affecting residents' lives. These ad hoc committees usually do not form unless some decision is about to be made (or has been made) which the community members feel to be disadvantageous to their interest or well being. Occasionally, such committees do form to take some action not precipitated by a crisis, as in the case of the ad hoc committee of young mothers which presented a suggestion to the county commissioners for a play park in Quilcene (Chapter 4, p. 93). Whereas these committees normally last only long enough to carry out the requests, this particular committee remained "constituted" until the park was actually built.

The normal course, however, for one of these committees of crisis, is for some person or persons to decide that some action taken or about to be taken by some decision making body is not in the best interests of the community. The person then recruits friends, largely by simply telling them about it. If the issue is deemed a problem by others, too, the group will decide to present a petition, demand or request to the body in question. Given the nature of the unincorporated status of Quilcene, the body is usually the school board, although the County Commissioners also are occasional recipients of crisis committee requests. Once the matter is placed before the board, usually by the whole committee (or as many as one can muster, usually three to ten), the crisis committee then awaits a decision. If the decision is not palatable to the committee, the next recourse is usually an anti-school campaign which, it if occurs immediately prior to the annual levy vote, is a dangerous thing from the school's perspective. But in fact, most of the crisis committees formed during our stay carried the day with their requests. It is interesting, however, to examine some of these committees to illustrate further their function and to differentiate success from failures in the crisis committee phenomenon.

A number of crisis committees were organized in 1973 (see Chapters 4 and 12). The largest of these was successful in having the superintendent replaced. Another group attended a school board meeting and swayed the board's decision on student smoking privileges. A third committee circulated a petition protesting the administration's attempt to save money by combining two elementary grades. These committees attended school board meetings in numbers and presented petitions with considerable verbal backup.

In 1975, an ad hoc committee attended a meeting of the county commissioners to protest the possible granting of a liquor license to the Quil Cafe. When the commissioners deftly dropped the matter into the Quilcene school board's lap (on the grounds of the cafe's proximity to the school) the same ad hoc committee attended school board meetings on the subject and presumably influenced the board's negative decision. In the same year, a number of "sports-minded" citizens in Quilcene and Brinnon met to consider community purchase of a football/baseball electric scoreboard for the school playfield. The scoreboard was purchased with community donations, and school personnel assisted in constructing a platform to hold it.

One of the most interesting committees formed in 1975 also involved sports. Several men from both Quilcene and Brinnon organized a committee with a specific and formal purpose: to oust the Quilcene High School coaching staff and install new, young coaches with "a will to win" who could "take our boys to State." They wanted a more competitive system built into the curriculum so that the "natural tendencies of these boys to compete could be fostered." This group encountered far more resistance than did any of the others, and while it instigated a reexamination of training rules and the sports code it had little other effect on the school save the stirring of bitter feelings on an interpersonal level. A detailed examination of this episode follows.

In the fall of 1974 an inexperienced coach took over the football and baseball teams. Besides being a Public Employee, he was from a Local family and was thus imbedded in a local kinship network. Several Local men from both Brinnon and Quilcene expressed concern that he did not have the experience to be a "winning" coach. Although the baseball team went to the state tournaments that year, the football and basketball teams did not. (The basketball coach had been coaching in Quilcene for some years.) Therefore, the group of "sports-minded" men got together to "do something about the sports program for our kids." These men were concerned that the football coach and the basketball coach were not producing winning teams. They felt that these coaches were not doing a good enough job and that a better coach would take the boys to State in every sport. It seemed at the time, however, that there was another, unspoken agenda.

One item on the agenda may have been a tiff over smoking. In the fall of 1974 the football coach began the year with a set of rules that would be hard and fast. He kicked one player off the team for smoking during practice, and that player went directly to the superintendent. The superintendent supported the player's demands for readmission, but the coach (backed by the principal) refused. The superintendent pointed out that many players had been seen smoking off campus and that if rules were to be rules, they must be enforced across the board. The coach said he was not running the players' lives, just their conduct during football practice. The player was not readmitted and that fall the team did as well as Quilcene's football team ever does. However, incidents like this, involving a highly visible school activity such as sports, do not pass unnoticed in the tavern and cafe.

The ad hoc committee had formed in March after the basketball team was narrowly beaten in the district playoffs. In April this committee had a closed meeting with the school board (at least one teacher/coach was refused admission), demanding that the basketball coach be relieved of his coaching duties. Subsequently, at a public meeting, committee members asked the coach himself to step down.

However, the other coaches rose to the defense of the basketball coach, pointing out that the committee was asking for a policy of win at any cost in school sports. The faculty felt that this was a matter of curriculum content, in effect, and that teaching sportsmanship was more important than winning in high school athletics. Some members of the ad hoc committee, moreover, were not in favor of the confrontation tactics involved in publicly requesting the coaches' resignation. The school board more or less supported the faculty position, and the activities of the sports committee were by default routed into recommendations for a comprehensive discipline in sports policy.

The sports committee is interesting because it was the only major ad hoc community committee that failed in its cause during our research period (save for one committee, whose demand that one of its members be appointed to the board was clearly illegal). The sports committee is thus important in an examination of the crisis committee style of community-school input. And comparison of the sports committee with the Experimental Schools Steering Committee is instructive.

In the beginning of the ES project, the Experimental Schools Steering Committee was very influential in setting up the project. It translated the community goals of August 1972 into parts of a Project Plan. Almost immediately thereafter, however, the planning for the ES project moved from goals and objectives to strategies and specific programs. In this area the community members felt out of their spheres of knowledge (save for several retired teachers on the committee), and the teachers felt such classroom-level decisions to be matters to be determined on the basis of their professional expertise.

The Steering Committee was up against the attitudinal notion that "experts have the knowledge and ability." In this case it was a mild bind, since the "experts" were the very faculty members the community had been putting down for years, but the notion that only the "experts know" held sway. Later on in the year (long after the Committee had already come up against the expertise problem), the Experimental Schools Project Director was demoted, removing any possibility of Steering Committee input on any reasonable scale.

Clearly, the situations involving the sports committee and the ES Steering Committee were very different in terms of interpersonal and intergroup relationships. Most faculty members looked on the Steering Committee as an acceptable mode of community input. Steering Committee members were made to feel welcome in the schools. The sports committee, however, was seen as vicious interference and aroused bitter feelings. A statement made by a teacher during the sports committee flap is indicative of the reluctance to permit lay interference in curriculum matters.

> I'm going to a meeting tonight to listen to a layman tell [us] how to teach. Those guys don't know anything about teaching. All they understand is win, win, win.... If that is the kind of win at any cost they want, I suppose they can have it, but I won't do it. They have no concept of what it means to teach those kids anything. I want what is right for those kids, and I don't give a damn for the parents. The state law cuts off high school at a certain age and it isn't 40. The school is for the kids, not the parents. If I thought my stand on this issue would hurt some kids, I'd cut and run so fast it would make your head spin. (Field Notes, 1975.)

Faculty members feel very strongly that in matters of curriculum content and in matters of the moral values attached to content they are directly serving young people who will be tomorrow's citizens. They feel they know what is better in the classroom because of their professional training. They see lay attempts to change that curriculum as unwarranted interference--sometimes well meaning and sometimes not. Thus the Steering Committee simply outlived its usefulness to the faculty, and the administration did not find any new uses for the Committee's momentum. In both cases, when the committees entered the domain of curriculum they were stopped.

The emergent pattern seems to be that if a crisis committee is formed it will carry the day, as long as it stays away from the area of curriculum. Thus, committees were able to replace administrators, set policy on student behavior outside the class (smoking, discipline), and even maintain self-contained as opposed to combined classrooms. Conversely, committees failed (actually, the Steering Committee never tried) to change the curriculum.

The community forms committees, but the school also acts to forestall committee formation. This can be especially notable where administrative sympathies lie largely with the supposed community response. In the case of the Abt questionnaires (see Chapter 13), school administrators protested administration of the questionnaires because three or four individuals had complained the previous year. Administrators said that those few complaints were representative of a more widespread community opposition.

The most notable example of the "tip-of-the-iceberg" response occurred with regard to the Interim Week in the ES project. Interim Week was designed to increase the experiences available to high school students and to provide short-term classes that would give them access to skills or teachers not otherwise available. Each time Interim was held a couple of people complained that it was a waste of money and not a sound academic program. Nevertheless, a survey conducted after the third Interim revealed that parents of students who had participated were overwhelmingly in favor of Interim Week. In fact, the survey showed that the vast majority of parents were willing to pay for the classes in order to keep Interim Week in the curriculum.

However, the administration discontinued Interim Week "because of reported problems with this event" (Quilcene Public Schools 1975b). These problems had to do with complaints about student conduct from a minority of parents, as well as the cost of the programs to parents. Despite the clear survey results in favor of Interim Week, administrators were unwilling to chance more complaints the following year. We feel constrained to point out, however, that Interim Week also involved a major disruption of school tradition and process. Students and teachers alike were beyond the administrative eye during Interim Week. It was an unusual event and as such made the school personnel uneasy. One might suppose that, in some cases, the "tip-of-the-iceberg" phenomenon is taken as a convenient excuse to discontinue or refuse some activity deemed troublesome to school personnel.

The attitudes of rural inferiority, defensiveness, and hostility, then, translate into action in the form of crisis committees and "tip-of-the-iceberg" administration responses. These cut off any possibility of faculty innovation, while the bureaucratic structure of state and federal funding, combined with ES/Washington's acts concerning the ES Project Director role, precluded any possibility of administrative or structural change. Finally, all of these phenomena can be seen as sociocultural processes which serve to protect the essentially (and, functionally speaking, necessary) conservative nature of the school as an enculturative institution.

In Sum

This volume has attempted to do three things:

1. Describe the context and process of a federally funded attempt at comprehensive change in a rural American village;

2. Describe a rural American community and its school and the context of education therein; and

3. Document the processes whereby a community absorbs and diffuses an externally funded attempt at planned change.

As anthropologists, we see and describe the life-ways in Quilcene as an integral whole, as a sociocultural system, as a culture. We have demonstrated in this volume why no aspect of a human cultural system can be taken as a separate entity, using the school in Quilcene as our example. Schooling, like agriculture, or health systems, is a part of a much larger sociocultural system. Schooling is an institution, a bundle of behaviors and processes, with a particular societal function. Like all institutions, schooling (education, if you will) is a microcosm of its larger sociocultural system. Particularly in education, as in processes of teaching everywhere, cultural values are over-stressed and epitomized as part of the teaching process. Nevertheless, the institution cannot be seen as an entity separate from, or outside of, its cultural context. Moreover, the educative institution is (and must be) conservative, as it transmits and preserves the accumulated traditions of a sociocultural system.

It is true that some differences emerged in the Quilcene school between 1972 and 1976. For those enmeshed in the school system itself, or for those whose careers were impacted by the presence or absence of "change" in that school district, those differences take on, perhaps a greater-than-life perspective. Yet they are, nonetheless, superficial, and subject to the vagaries of future funding. The differences which were brought about by the Experimental Schools project have not proved to be self-perpetuating, and are dependent on either future extra funding or on the continuity of personnel. They are not "deep changes." They do not touch on the hidden curriculum, or even on the obtrusive structures of the school proper. The nature of formal curriculum and content has not changed, though it has been up-graded. Certainly from a national perspective, the cost of that upgrading of the curriculum on a per-pupil basis would be seen as excessive: between 1972-73 and 1975-76, the cost of the Experimental Schools project in Quilcene ranged from a high of $616.48 per pupil in 1973-74 during the height of implementation to a low of $280.44 per pupil in 1975-76 as the project wound down.

A major lesson to be learned from this case study is that any attempt at planned change must first be based on a sound working knowledge of the sociocultural system to be changed; that participation in a culture and membership in a culture do not necessarily imply conscious knowledge of that culture; and that change must be introduced through the least conservative elements of a system possible.

REFERENCES

Abt, W.P., T. Cerva and T. Marx
1978 Why So Little Change? The Effects on Pupils of the Experimental Schools Program (Draft). Cambridge, MA.: Abt Associates Inc.

Anderson, B., M. Lipton, and B. Morros
1975 The Outlook for Schooling: A Survey for Investors and Shareholders. Council on Anthropology and Education Quarterly IV (#1): 1-8.

Anonymous
1972 The Lure of Tubal Cain. Port Orchard: Publishers Printing.

Ardener, S., ed.
1975 Perceiving Women. London: Malaby Press.

Ardener, E.
1975 Belief and The Problem of Women. In Perceiving Women, S. Ardener, ed. London: Malaby Press. pp. 1-28.

Barker, R.
1968 Ecological Psychology: Concepts and Methods for Studying the Environment of Human Behavior. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Beale, C.L.
1975 The Revival of Population Growth in Nonmetropolitan America. Washington, D.C.: Economic Research Service, USDA, ERS-602.

Becker, H.
1975 Personal communication (critique of Carol and Michael Colfer's Annual Report to Abt Associates).

Beisser, A.R.
1967 The Madness of Sports. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.

Bernard, J.
1972 The Future of Marriage. New York: Bantam Books.

Bernikow, L.
1973 Confessions of an Ex-Cheerleader. Ms. Magazine (October).

Bidney, D.
1949 On the Philosophical Anthropology of Ernst Cassirer and its Relation to the History of Anthropological Thought. In P.A. Schlipp, ed. The Philosophy of Ernst Cassirer. Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Publishing Company.

Blanchard, K.
1974 Basketball and the Culture-Change Process: The Rimrock Navajo Case. Council on Anthropology and Education Quarterly V:8-13.

Boaz, F.
1938 *General Anthropology*. New York.

Bossert, S.
1974 Tasks and Social Relationships in Classrooms. Mimeo.

Burnett, J.H.
1969 Ceremony, Rites, and Economy in the Student System of an American High School. Human Organization 28:1-10.

Cassirer, E.
1944 *An Essay on Man: An Introduction to a Philosophy of Human Culture*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Chadwick, B.A. and H.M. Bahr
1978 Rural Poverty. In *Rural USA: Persistence and Change*. T.R. Ford, ed. Ames: Iowa State University Press.

Cheerleaders' Constitution
1975 Quilcene High School (adapted from National Cheerleaders' Association standards). Mimeo.

Chilcott, J., N. Greenberg and H. Wilson
1968 *Readings on the Sociocultural Foundations of Education*. Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

Citizens' Handbook for Washington State School Finance
1971 Olympia, Washington: Office of the State Superintendent for Public Instruction.

Clinton, C.A.
1975 Revised Annual Report to the Experimental Schools Program.

1979 Shiloh County: A Matter of Agendas. In *The Dynamics of Planned Educational Change*, R.E. Herriott and N. Gross, eds. Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corp.

Cohen, J.
1971 The Shaping of Men's Minds: Adaptations to the Imperatives of Culture. In *Anthropological Perspectives on Education*, Wax, Diamond, and Gearing, eds. New York: Basic Books.

Coleman, J.S.
1970 Athletics in High School. In *Sport and American Society*, Sage, ed. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

Colfer, C.J.P.
1974 *An Ethnography of Leaderlong Indian School*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Anthropology Department, University of Washington, Seattle.

1975 Bureaucrats, Budgets, and the BIA: Segmentary Opposition in a Residential School. Human Organization 34.

Colfer, C.J.P.
1976 Rights, Responsibilities and Reports: An Ethical Dilemma in Contract Research. In Ethics and Anthropology, Spradley and Rynkiewich, eds. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

1977 Women's Communication and Family Planning: The Case of Bushler Bay. Honolulu: East-West Communication Institute.

Colfer, C.J.P. and A.M. Colfer
1975 A Social and Educational History of Quilcene-Brinnon, Washington. In Rural America, Fitzsimmons et al, eds. Cambridge: Abt Associates Inc.

Colfer, C.J.P. with A.M. Colfer
1978 Inside Bushler Bay: Lifeways in Counterpoint. Rural Sociology Vol. 43, #2.

1979 Ethnography, Communication Networks and Planned Change: A Case Study. Paper presented to the East-West Center 1979 Seminar on Communication Networks. Honolulu, Hawaii.

Conant, E.H.
1974 What Do Teachers Do All Day? World 55. June.

Coon, C.
1958 Caravan: The Story of the Middle East. New York: Henry Holt and Company.

Corwin, R.G.
1977 Patterns of Federal-Local Relationships in Education: A Case Study of the Experimental Schools Program. Cambridge: Abt Associates Inc.

Corwin, R.G. and S.Z. Nagi
1972 The Case of Educational Research. In The Social Contexts of Research, Nagi and Corwin, eds. New York: Wiley-Interscience.

Cozens, F. and F. Stumpf
1970 The Role of the School in the Sports Life in America. In Sport and American Society, Sage, ed. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

Donnelly, W.L.
1979 Arcadia: Local Initiatives and Adaptation. In The Dynamics of Planned Educational Change, R.E. Herriott and N. Gross, eds. Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corp.

Dore, R.P.
1976 Going Up by Degrees. Development Forum IV (#8):4-5, November.

Doyle, W. et al.
1976 The Birth, Nurturance and Transformation of an Educational Reform. Portland, Oregon: Northwest Regional Educational Lab, August.

Eddy, E.
1969 *Becoming a Teacher*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Experimental Schools Program
1972a Announcement. March 10.
1972b First Site Visitation Report on Quilcene (NIE/ES files)
1972c Site Visitation Report, Quilcene (NIE/ES files, Cynthia Parsons).
1972d Site Visitation Report, August 29 (Barbara Rose)
1972e National Institute of Education Reports, August 29 (Barbara Rose)
1972f Letter to Project Director, September 29 (Barbara Rose)
1974 Site Visitation Report (NIE, January 30)
n.d. Site Visitation Report (NIE/ES files)

Fernea, E.
1965 *Guests of the Sheik: An Ethnography of an Iraqi Village*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co.

Firestone, W.A.
1979 Butte-Angels Camp: Conflict and Transformation. In *The Dynamics of Planned Educational Change*, R.E. Herriott and N. Gross, eds. Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corp.

Foster, G.M.
1972 An Anthropologist's View of Technical Assistance Methodology. Paper prepared in conjunction with the consultative seminars on technical assistance methodology sponsored by the Methodology Division, Bureau of Technical Assistance, AID (U.C. Berkeley.

Gearing, F.
1958 The Structural Pose of 18th Century Cherokee Villages. American Anthropologist 60:1148-1157.

1975 Studies of Censorship, Usually Inadvertent: Studies in a Cultural Theory of Education. Council on Anthropology and Education Quarterly VII:1-12.

Gearing, F. et al.
1973 Where We Are and Where We Might Go: Steps Toward a General Theory of Cultural Transmission. Council on Anthropology and Education Newsletter IV:1-10.

Geertz, C.
1968 The Impact of the Concept of Culture on the Concept of Man. In *Man in Adaptation: The Cultural Present*, Cohen, ed. Chicago: Aldine.

Goodenough, W.
1963 *Cooperation in Change*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Gouldner, A.W.
1957 Cosmopolitans and Locals: Toward an Analysis of Latent Social Roles. Administrative Science Quarterly 2 (#3): 281-306.

Green, T.F.
1971 Citizenship or Certification. In *Anthropological Perspectives on Education*, Wax, Diamond, and Gearing, eds. New York: Basic Books.

Gross, N.
1979 Basis Issues in the Management of Educational Change Efforts. In The Dynamics of Planned Educational Change, R.E. Herriott and N. Gross, eds. Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corp.

Hall, E.T.
1959 The Silent Language. Garden City: Doubleday.

Hamburg, C.H.
1956 Symbol and Reality: Studies in the Philosophy of Ernst Cassirer. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Harris, T.
1969 I'm OK - You're OK. New York: Avon Books.

Heilbruner, R.
1974 An Inquiry into the Human Prospect. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.

Henry, J.
1965 Culture Against Man. New York: Vintage Books.

1971 Education of the Negro Child. In Anthropological Perspectives on Education, Wax, Diamond & Gearing, eds. New York: Basic Books.

Herriott, R.E. and N. Gross, eds.
1979 The Dynamics of Planned Educational Change. Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corp.

Hsu, F.K.
1963 Clan, Caste, and Club. New York: Van Nostrand-Reinhold & Co.

Jacobs, G., ed.
1970 The Participant Observer. New York: George Braziller.

Jefferson County Superintendent of Schools General Record
1880-present Located Jefferson County Historical Society Library. Port Townsend, Washington.

Kelly, G.A.
1963 A Theory of Personality: The Psychology of Personal Constructs. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Kesey, K.
1964 Sometimes a Great Notion. New York: Viking Press.

Khleif, B.B.
1971 The School as a Small Society. In Anthropological Perspectives on Education, Wax, Diamond & Gearing, eds. New York: Basic Books.

Kirst, D.
1975 Port Townsend Leader, April 10.

Lance, L.M. and E.E. McKennaa
1975 Analysis of Cases Pertaining to the Impact of Western Technology on the Non-Western World. Human Organization 34:87-94.

Leach, E.
1971 Two Essays Concerning the Symbolic Representation of Time. In Rethinking Anthropology. London: The Athlone Press.

Lee, A.M.
1970 On Context and Relevance. In The Participant Observer, Jacobs, ed. New York: George Braziller.

Levi-Strauss, C.
1967 Structural Anthropology. New York: Doubleday & Co.

Luschen, G.
1970 The Interdependence of Sport and Culture. In The Cross-Cultural Analysis of Sport and Games, Luschen, ed. Champaign, Illinois: Stipes Publishing Company.

Maruyama, M.
1977 Suggestions for Anthropological Study of Contemporary USA. American Anthropologist Newsletter 18 (#3):18.

Mead, M.
1972 Blackberry Winter. New York: William Morrow & Company.

Messerschmidt, D.A.
1979 River District: A Search for Unity Amidst Diversity. In The Dynamics of Planned Educational Change, R.E. Herriott and N. Gross, eds. Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corp.

Morrison, P. and J.P. Wheeler
1976 Rural Renaissance in America? The Revival of Population Growth in Remote Areas. Population Bulletin 31 (#3).

Murphy, Y. and R. Murphy
1974 Women of the Forest. New York: Columbia University Press.

Nash, D. and R. Wintrob
1972 The Emergence of Self-Consciousness in Ethnography. Current Anthropology 13:527-542.

Newsweek
1974 The Riskiest Job of All. June 10:64.

Overall Economic Development Plan for Jefferson Sounty.
1971 Port Townsend, Washington. Mimeo.

Paul, Benjamin
1955 Health, Culture and Community: Case Studies of Public Reactions to Health Programs. New York: Russell Sage.

Pierce, J.E.
1971 *Understanding the Middle East*. Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co.

1977 Culture: A Collection of Fuzzy Sets. Human Organization 36:197-9.

Port Townsend Weekly Leader
n.d. Port Townsend, Washington: The Leader Publishing Company.

President's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty
1967 *The People Left Behind*. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Quilcene Public Schools
n.d. Federal Project Director. Notebook.

1973 Quilcene Experimental Schools Plan, February 15.

1975a Quilcene Quarterly Report #8 to National Institute of Education, June.

1975b Quilcene Contract Extension Document, National Institute of Education, December.

Radl, S.
1973 *Mother's Day is Over*. New York: Charterhouse.

Rahim, Syed
1976 Communication and Rural Development in Bangladesh. Honolulu: East-West Communication Institute (Case Study #3).

Read, K.E.
1955 Morality and the Concept of the Person Among the Gahuku-Gama. Oceania XXV:4.

Redfield, Robert
1956 *Peasant Society and Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Roberts, J.M., M.J. Arth, and R.R. Bush
1970 Games in Culture. In *Sport and American Society*, Sage, ed. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

Rogers, E.M.
1973 *Communication Strategies for Family Planning*. New York: The Free Press.

Rosaldo, M.Z.
1974 Women, Culture and Society: A Theoretical Overview. In *Women, Culture, and Society*, Rosaldo and Lamphere, eds. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Rosenblum, S. and K.S. Louis
1978 *A Measure of Change: The Process and Outcomes of Planned Change in Ten Rural School Districts*. Cambridge: Abt Associates Inc.

Ryan, F.J.
1958 An Investigation of Personality Differences Associated with Competitive Ability, and Further Observations on Competitive Ability in Athletics. In *Psychosocial Problems of College Men*, Wedge, ed. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Sage, G.H. (ed.)
1970 *Sport and American Society*. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

Salamon, S.
1975 The Varied Groups of Japanese and German Housewives. The Japan Interpreter 10 (#2):151-170.

Sarason, S.
1971 *The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Satterlee, M.G.
1952 *The Dub of South Burlap*. New York: Exposition Press.

Schneider, D.
1965 American Kin Terms and Terms for Kinsmen: A Critique of Goodenough's Componential Analysis of Yankee Kinship Terminology. American Anthropologist 67 (#5):288-308.

1968 *American Kinship: A Cultural Account*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

Sproull, L.
1976 Review of Quilcene Working Papers for the Rural Experimental Schools Project. Xerox, September.

Sproull, Lee, Stephen Weiner and David Wolf.
1978 *Organizing an Anarchy: Belief, Bureaucracy and Politics in the National Institute of Education*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Steele, E.N.
1964 *The Immigrant Oyster*. Tacoma: Warren's Quick Print.

Stone, G.
1970 Some Meanings of American Sport. In. *Sport and American Society*, Sage, ed. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

Taylor, E.C.
1966 Quilcene. In Jefferson County Historical Society, With Pride in Heritage. Portland: Professional Publishing Printing Company.

The *Quilcene Queen*
various Quilcene: Satterlee and Hamilton Publishing Company

Tindall, B.A.
1973a Explorations of "Troublesome Agenda" Based on the Non-Sharing of "Property-Like" Information. Paper presented at the American Anthropological Association meetings, New Orleans.

1973b The Hidden Curriculum in Sport. Paper presented at Symposium on Sport, Games, and Culture at Northeastern Anthropological Association meetings, Burlington, Vermont.

1974 Ethnography and the Hidden Curriculum. Mimeo.

United States Coast Pilot #7.
1968 Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Vidich, A.J. and J. Bensman
1968 *Small Town in Mass Society*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Wacaster, C.T.
1979 Jackson County: Local Norms, Federal Initiatives, and Administrator Performance. In *The Dynamics of Planned Educational Change*, R.E. Herriott and N. Gross, eds. Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corp.

Wallace, A.F.C.
1961 *Culture and Personality*. New York: Random House.

Warren, R.
1967 *Education in Rebhausen: A German Village*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Warren, R.L.
1965 *Studying Your Community*. New York: The Free Press.

Wax, Diamond, and Gearing, eds.
1971 *Anthropological Perspectives on Education*. New York: Basic Books.

Wax, M. and R. Wax
1971 Great Tradition, Little Tradition, and Formal Education. In *Anthropological Perspectives on Education*, Wax, Diamond & Gearing, eds. New York: Basic Books.

Wolcott, H.
1967 *A Kwakiutl Village and School*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

1971 Handle With Care: Necessary Precautions in the Anthropology of Schools. In *Anthropological Perspectives on Education*, Wax, Diamond and Gearing, eds. New York: Basic Books.

Yanagisako, S.J.
1977 Women-Centered Kin Networks in Urban, Bilateral Kinship. American Ethnologist 4(2):207-26.

Yearbook
1973 Clallam-Jefferson County Extension Homemaker's Clubs. Mimeo.

APPENDIX: QUILCENE SCHOOL BUDGETS: 1969-76

Table A provides budget information on the Quilcene schools. Note that the "Special Levy" column lists the levy asked for, not spent, in a given year. In 1969-70, for instance, a special levy of $18,718 was put before the community for a vote. Approximately 55% of this money was actually available for the following school year (1970-71). The remaining 45% of that $18,718 became available during the 1971-72 school year, along with approximately 55% of the $70,000 voted on in the spring of 1971. Additional financial uncertainties derive from the usual 7-8% default on payment of taxes.

The first column lists the total school cost, including ES funds. Since these funds were supposed to be adjuncts to the operating cost of the school, we have deducted those amounts to ascertain the operating cost of the school district (column 3). The increasing cost of education is reflected in the per-pupil expenditures in the "special levies." The levy rose from 7% of the operating cost in 1970 to 32.5% in 1976. Despite its unusual size, the 1976 levy passed on the first try.

ES funds represented a tremendous increase in the funds spent by the school, amounting to a 55% increase for the 1973-74 school year and an overall average of 31.9% over the first four years of the project (considerably more than the 15% addition anticipated in the Announcement). The $172,000 ES addition in 1973-74 even reduced the apparent per-pupil cost for that year in the operating budget. The special levy for that year was also very high in terms of percentage of the operating cost after the ES funds were deducted.

The 1975-76 special levy was the biggest levy Quilcene ever passed (32.5% of the operating cost). Though inflation is undoubtedly responsible for a good deal of the increase, some of the additional cost is probably due to the necessity to maintain ES programs as ES funding was withdrawn.

Table A: Budget Information on Quilcene Schools, 1969-76

					Levy as % of:		ES as % of:			Cost/Pupil	
Year	Total Expense	ES Funds	Operating Expense	Special Levy	Tot	Oper	Tot	Oper	No. of Pupils	Tot	Oper
1969-70	273,041	--	273,041	18,718	6.9		--		291	938	
1970-71	300,917	--	300,917	70,000	23.3		--		268	1123	
1971-72	320,313	--	320,313	70,000	21.9		--		288	1112	
1972-73	463,739	103,270	360,469	80,000	17.3	22.2	22.3	28.6	269	1724	1340
1973-74	482,650	171,997	310,653	88,000	18.2	28.3	35.6	55.4	279	1730	1113
1974-75	521,037	125,002	396,035	89,700	17.2	22.6	24.0	31.6	261	1996	1517
1975-76	501,800	76,280	425,450	138,712	27.6	32.5	15.2	17.9	272	1845	1564
		476,549	1,492,607								